

California Historical Society

Quarterly

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1936

Charles Christian Nahl	295
The Painter of California Pioneer Life	
EUGEN NEUHAUS	
An Inquiry into the Significance of the Raising of the American Flag at Yerba Buena, July 9, 1846	306
DOUGLAS S. WATSON	
San Francisco's Cisterns	311
CHARLES R. BODEN	
"The Emigrant's Dream"	324
ERNEST A. WILTSEE	
The Flea in California History and Literature	329
As Revealed by Extracts from Spanish, French, English, German and American Sources Between the Years 1769 and 1878	
The Surrender of Monterey by Governor Nicolas Gutierrez— November 5, 1836	338
An Account from Unpublished Correspondence	
GEORGE TAYS	
Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco	364
Western History—A Check List of Recent Publications Relating to California and the West	378
Book Review	381
Meetings of the Society	382
In Memoriam	383
Gifts Received by the Society, September 1 to November 30, 1936 . . .	385
Personalalia and Marginalia	387
New Members	388

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ALLEN L. CHICKERING, *President*

ERNEST A. WILTSEE, *First Vice-President*

ALFRED I. ESBERG, *Third Vice-President*

C. O. G. MILLER, *Second Vice-President*

ANSON S. BLAKE, *Secretary and Treasurer*

ALBERT M. BENDER

GEORGE EZRA DANE

DANIEL Q. TROY

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN

SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN

MRS. DANIEL G. VOLKMANN

TEMPLETON CROCKER

ALEXANDER T. LEONARD, JR.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON

STUART L. RAWLINGS

Committee on Publication

DOUGLAS S. WATSON, *Chairman*

CHARLES R. BODEN

FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR

HELEN THROOP PRATT

GEORGE EZRA DANE

GEORGE L. HARDING

CARL I. WHEAT

LAWTON R. KENNEDY

Committee on Exhibitions

JOHN HOWELL, *Chairman*

GEORGE H. BARRON

MRS. JOHN O. GANTNER

ELIZABETH W. LATHAM

ANSON S. BLAKE

STELLA HUNTINGTON

A. T. LEONARD, JR.

Committee on Membership

ERNEST A. WILTSEE, *Chairman*

ALBERT M. BENDER

ALFRED I. ESBERG

STUART L. RAWLINGS

GEORGE H. BARRON

A. T. LEONARD, JR.

MRS. DANIEL G. VOLKMANN

EDWARD F. O'DAY

Committee on Historic Names and Sites

A. T. LEONARD, JR., *Chairman*

GEORGE H. BARRON

D. Q. TROY

AUBREY DRURY

ERNEST A. WILTSEE

JOSEPH M. CUMMING

Committee on Publicity

AUBREY DRURY, *Chairman*

GEORGE E. DANE

NEILL C. WILSON

Library Committee

STELLA HUNTINGTON, *Chairman*

MARGARET V. GIRDNER

DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

Patron Members

TEMPLETON CROCKER

MILTON H. ESBERG

C. O. G. MILLER

WILLIAM H. CROCKER

MRS. PAUL FAGAN

DR. MARY YOUNG MOORE

WILLIAM W. CROCKER

JAMES FLOOD

MRS. LEE A. PHILLIPS

SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN

JOSEPH D. GRANT

GEORGE A. POPE

MRS. SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN

MRS. ROBERT B. HENDERSON

ERNEST A. WILTSEE

Office: Room 301, 609 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

Corresponding Secretary: DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

Entire Contents Copyrighted by the California Historical Society, 1936



"SUNDAY MORNING IN THE MINES" by Charles Nahl
Reproduced by permission of Crocker Art Gallery

California Historical Society *Quarterly*

VOLUME XV



NUMBER 4

DECEMBER 1936

CHARLES CHRISTIAN NAHL

*The Painter of California Pioneer Life**

By EUGEN NEUHAUS

SPANNING three centuries of European art, successive generations of the Nahl family have distinguished themselves abroad as painters, sculptors, decorators, and teachers of art. Their professional careers are largely identified with Germany, more particularly with Kassel and Berlin, and the facts of their lives and their artistic achievements are amply recorded in the Old World annals of art.

Of Charles Christian Nahl, however, who cast his lot with the New World, mention is made only by name, and practically nothing is known of his contributions to art outside of his own country. Since, therefore, it has been the writer's fortune to have lived and worked for over thirty years in the California which built upon the adventurous and crude beginnings through which Nahl lived, and of which we have today from his hand such vivid pictorial records, the purpose of this paper is to round out the record of a family of artists of distinction, and at the same time to give to Charles Christian Nahl his proper place in the history of art—a task for the fulfillment of which full advantage has been taken of the opportunities for research into Nahl's life which are so abundantly available in California.

Already in the Seventeenth Century a Matthäus Nahl (1618-1668) is recorded, a skillful cabinetmaker and woodcarver appointed to the court at

*Presented at the XIVth International Congress of Art History at the University of Bern, Switzerland, September 6th, 1936.

Beyreuth and Ansbach. His son, Johann Samuel Nahl the Elder (1664-1728), also practiced his father's craft in the same capacity at Ansbach and Jena, and he is said to have collaborated at Berlin with the great Schlüter in several of his decorative sculptures, particularly the slaves on the base of the equestrian statue of the Great Elector at Berlin. Johann August Nahl the Elder (1710-1781), the son of the preceding, is generally regarded as the most distinguished representative of the name Nahl, and has been called by Feulner¹ the most inventive decorative artist of the German rococo. His works abound in Berlin and Potsdam.² His two sons, Johann Samuel Nahl, the sculptor (1748-1813), and Johann August the Younger, a painter (1752-1825), held, like their distinguished father, professorships at the Academy at Kassel, Johann August succeeding him as director in 1815, after the death of his elder brother. A son of Johann August the Younger, Wilhelm Nahl (1803-1880), also a painter, but better remembered as a collector of art, continued the family tradition at Kassel.

Johann Samuel Nahl the Younger was the father of Georg Valentin Friedrich Nahl (1791-1857),³ who practiced etching and engraving at Kassel. The latter married Henrietta Weickh, and their son was Karl (Charles) Christian Nahl (1819-1878), the painter of early California history and life in the mines. Alexander Theodor Nahl (1805-1875), known at Kassel in his day as a man of scientific interests living remote from public life, was the son of Johann August the Younger and brother of the Wilhelm (1803-1880) already mentioned. Alexander Theodor Nahl married Henrietta Weickh after her legal separation from Georg Friedrich Nahl, who was the first cousin of her second husband. They had a son, Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl (1833-1889), who thus was not only a second cousin to Charles Christian Nahl of California fame but also his half-brother. To add still further complications to this family tangle, Friedrich Bleibaum, in his voluminous work on Johann August Nahl the Elder, alludes to a story derived from a family document which speaks of a romance between Henrietta Weickh and her second husband's older brother Wilhelm. The departure for France, and eventually for America, of Henrietta Weickh Nahl, accompanied by her two sons, Charles Christian and Hugo Wilhelm Arthur, but sans husband, was, according to Bleibaum, an attempt to solve a highly complicated domestic situation at home. Charles Christian Nahl was thus the half-uncle (if there can be such a relationship) of Perham Wilhelm Nahl, who is dealt with farther on in this biography.

In April, 1846, Henrietta Weickh Nahl with her two sons, the elder, Charles Christian, then twenty-eight and the younger thirteen years old, accompanied also by her daughter Laura, went to live in Paris, and in 1849 they left Le Havre for New York. Of their temporary sojourn in New York little is known other than that Charles Christian Nahl sent a number of pictures to the exhibitions of the "Art Union."⁴ In 1850 they all came to Cali-

fornia, at that time "the promised land" of the adventurous minded, accompanied by the animal painter, A. Wenderoth, who had formed an attachment to Laura Nahl. They were finally married in California, Laura dying soon after in childbirth. Of Wenderoth, the artist, nothing is known in California other than that in 1854 he was in San Francisco, the partner of Charles Nahl in a daguerreotype business.⁵

When the Nahls arrived in San Francisco, in 1850, after an eventful journey over the Isthmus of Panama by way of the Chagres River route, the "Golden State" was still in the throes of the excitement caused by the discovery of the precious metal which gave it its alluring name. For a while, during 1851, Nahl, like others of many different professions, worked as a miner at Rough and Ready, in Nevada County. He soon, however, abandoned the search for gold and, after a temporary residence in Marysville, established himself in 1851 as a painter at Sacramento to cater to those with sufficient leisure to entertain an interest in art. The disastrous fire at Sacramento, at that time a city of less than 10,000 inhabitants, destroyed most of his many pen and ink and pencil sketches and other studies of the life in mining camps. Among these were also many studies made while coming to California over the Isthmus of Panama.

This misfortune at Sacramento caused him in 1852 to move to San Francisco, where he spent the rest of his life engaged in a great variety of artistic activities. He first maintained a studio in an obscure dwelling on Telegraph Hill, but later, though he never married, he boasted a spacious residence on Bush Street, which was his home for many years. Here he produced a series of very remarkable pictures of life in the California mines and of other spectacular incidents of California life of that time, some of which, unfortunately, are no longer in existence. Such as have been preserved, however, are the most vivid records of those exciting days.

In addition to his artistic heritage, Nahl's European training was the best his time could offer. Apart from his training at Kassel under his father, and for some time at Dresden, he enjoyed during three years at Paris an opportunity to study under Horace Vernet. He was living in Paris during the revolution which resulted in the dethronement of Louis Philippe. Pictures by Charles Christian Nahl are said to have been exhibited in the Salon of 1847 and that of 1848. His "Wallenstein and Seni," painted in 1846, was exhibited at Stuttgart and purchased for 1600 guilders for the permanent State collection there.⁶ It is a part of the collection today.

Nahl's artistic concepts were typical of the trend of his time. Several of his paintings reveal a predilection for heroic themes, for classical subject matter, and show a technical perfection and absence of color typical of the classical revival of the Nineteenth Century. Such pictures as "The Rape of the Sabine Women" (a series of three pictures known as "The Invasion," "The Abduction," and "The Captivity," dated 1870-1871), in the M. H. de

Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, combine scholarly knowledge with a penchant for heroic, theatrical subject matter in terms of figures which attitudinize rather than act. Coldly intellectual, frigidly academic in color, poorly if at all differentiated in tactile values, these pictures are no variation from the run of academic pictures of the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

It was inevitable that a man of his innate endowments and extraordinary powers of observation should be inspired to depict in his own medium, and in the light of his own experiences of those vivid days, the early California glorified by Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and others in literature; and it is from these pictorial records that we today get by far the best idea of those stirring times. It is a curious contradiction that this painter, equipped with a smooth, highly sophisticated, self-conscious technique, should have left behind him these lively and romantic interpretations of a rude, unpolished, rough and ready society. The Nahl who will live in the annals of art is not the painter of remote, academic historical scenes; it is the artist of the life in the California mines, as lived by an adventurous, polyglot society of Americans, Indians, Mexicans, and Europeans, of which he himself was a part.

One of his earliest pictures, "Sutter's Mill in 1851," a large painting of a locale made famous by the discovery of gold in 1848 by James W. Marshall, is mentioned in the press of 1878.⁷ This picture has, unfortunately, disappeared; if, however, we are to judge of its qualities by those of his other large painting, "Sunday Morning in the Mines," it must have ranked with his best work. Furthermore, it was an important document in the history of California.

Of the existing pictures by Nahl there is no doubt that the "Sunday Morning in the Mines," in the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery at Sacramento is his artistically most typical and successful work, although he painted several other large canvases of similar theme. This large canvas, which is dated 1872, and measures 6x9 feet without the frame, has obvious faults, but they are the faults of many paintings of that period. A certain crowdedness and an attempt to impress one with both a wealth of subject matter and an almost uncanny technical skill are obvious at a glance. On the other hand, it discloses a remarkable originality and competence in the handling of complex pictorial material. There is no doubt as to its self-assured draftsmanship: every object in the picture is delineated with an Ingres-like precision, without Ingres' simplicity and musical use of line.

Presenting a very curious problem in design, this picture is physically divided into two almost equal parts by the corner doorpost of the miner's cabin visible in the exact center. The left of the picture represents incidents of the greatest animation. In the left foreground, four miners are racing "*ventre à terre*" into the picture, two of them furiously whipping their horses in an effort to come up from the rear. Above them to the left, a brawl

is in progress among a group of men under an awning in front of an improvised saloon. In the landscape above, camps are clustered at intervals. Toward the middle of the picture two older men are vainly attempting to restrain a youth who, in a drunken frenzy, is recklessly casting his hard-gotten treasure to the winds. All this by itself makes for a scene full of vitality and excitement.

The right half, by contrast, is a peaceful scene of primitive domestic tranquillity. Two miners seated in front of a cabin are attentively listening to a third as he reads from a book, presumably the Bible. Through the open door a man is visible, still in city clothes. He is writing a letter with a primitive quill. On the extreme right, two other men attend leisurely to their washing. Under the shadow of the vividly green tree which overhangs the miner's shack, covered with the crudely split shakes typical even today of rustic architecture in California, stands the calm figure of a man engaged in philosophic meditation. He is puffing a cigar while he contemplates serenely the life about him.

All this, of course, has the flavor of Düsseldorfian anecdotalism, and one might pass over this and other paintings of Nahl with the not uncommon contempt displayed today in dealing with that school. However, his competent draftsmanship and his courageous and positive use of color, which curiously offended his Californian contemporaries as being exaggerated and overwrought,⁸ have remarkable power to give a sense of actuality to his scene and raise this and his other similar pictures above mere anecdotal painting, in which subject matter is overemphasized at the expense of form and color. They are convincing, expressive, vital records of a vital age.

In the treatment of the foreground, littered with mining and housekeeping implements, Nahl discloses convincingly, as he does throughout the picture, a fine sense for artistic relationships and characterization in little things. His grasses, shrubs, rocks, could serve the purposes of scientific investigation; their perfection is absolute, and they leave no room to the imagination. It is the perfection of many separate objects which is the delight of "the man in the street" or the historian seeking data and information from paintings.

Nahl did not always achieve a unity of subject matter and complete harmony of the artistic means. His pictures easily fall into many separate parts, a fact which tends to be emphasized by perfection of drawing and his careful attention to details.

"The Fandango," dated 1873, which hangs opposite the "Sunday Morning in the Mines" in the Crocker Art Gallery, has the same lively sense of actuality and the same kind of technical perfection as the picture discussed, and a reiteration of its qualities would serve no purpose. These characteristics of his were probably a heritage from his teacher, Vernet, whose heroic, animated battle scenes fill one large gallery at the palace of Versailles. That

Nahl loved to represent action becomes additionally clear from the titles of some of his other pictures, which all disclose a keen interest in and understanding of the vital aspects of the life of his time:

"After the Bullfight" (once at the Piedmont Art Gallery)

"The Patriotic Race," 1870 (at Sacramento)

"Race for the Bride," 1869 (at Sacramento)

"Marriage Festival at a California Rancho" (property of Mrs. George Batchelder of Santa Barbara)

"Crossing the Sierras in a Snowstorm" (lost)

"Joaquin Murieta," 1868 (Union League Club, San Francisco)

"Early Times" (lost)

Of picturesque import, if not exactly depicting action, are also the following two pictures at the Methodist Church, K and 20th streets, Sacramento:

"The Dead Miner"

"Indian Camp Fire"

Pictures of considerable size which have either been lost or are hidden in private ownership are:

"Battle of Winchester"

"Isthmus Scenes"

"Royal Family of Hawaii"

"The Pack Train"

"Panama Girls"

The writer cannot agree with the attribution to Charles Christian Nahl of two very large paintings called "Saturday Night in the Mines" and "Crossing the Plains" in the Stanford University Museum. These paintings, dated 1856, are signed in block letters, NAHL, without initials, in a manner very different from other paintings signed by Charles C. Nahl in a style of fluent penmanship, as may be noted on "The Spanish Girl" in the Stanford Art Gallery. It is not easily conceivable that the meticulous painter of "Sunday Morning in the Mines" should have painted these poorly drawn pictures, painted, it is true, in a very broad, but superficial manner. Apart from the similarity of subject matter, they have no technical or compositional characteristics in common with the work of Charles Christian Nahl. It is not improbable that they are the work of his half-brother, Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl, of whose painting the writer has never seen an example.⁹

Nahl carried out many portrait commissions, of which the portrait of Miss Annie Grant (1857), in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, is typical. It is another striking example of his extraordinary draftsmanship and daring use of color. Its uncanny, precise, self-assured drawing is typical of Nahl's work, besides which the color aspect of this picture is, to say the

least, unusual. The dress of the young lady is a most enjoyable intense blue, such a blue as is rare in a painting of this or any other period. Whether it is genuine lapis lazuli laid over a pure white ground, or a very high grade of ultramarine blue, it is difficult to determine accurately. The wool rug of many warm reds and yellows is most interestingly differentiated from the crisp silk dress, this being one of the few occasions where one observes textural differences in Nahl's work. There can be no doubt of its species from the intense yellow of the bird in front of the cage.

Nahl also painted landscapes with cattle; in fact, it seems that, as regards subject matter, nothing was too difficult for him. An article in the *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* of March 9, 1898, shortly after his death, pays him this glowing tribute: "Let him attempt animal life, incidents of travel, camp life, birds of rare and gaudy plumage, reptiles, beasts, fishes and insects, the humming bird poised above the open flower, or paint the wondrous beauty of the floral kingdom, and Charles Nahl stood pre-eminently alone in his wonderful rivalry with nature in America, if not in the whole world." Whether in action or in repose, human beings and animal life he recorded with the acute eye of an instantaneous camera.

His industry was enormous. Few men, comparatively, considering the length of his career and the difficulties under which he labored—the lack of the ordinary materials needed by an artist—have so large an output to their credit. His illustrations appeared regularly in the *California Magazine*, the *Wide West*, and the *Placer Times*. He also made hundreds of drawings for wood engravings, the common medium of pictorial illustration in his day. "The Idle and the Industrious Miner, a Tale of California Life," is a series of eighteen woodcuts accompanied by highly melodramatic, if not amusing, verses by Alonzo Delano. Nahl's draftsmanship here is at its best. Under the restraining influence of the material, his sense of composition is given full play, and his inventiveness in pictorial arrangement in these casual drawings is not surpassed in his more ambitious paintings. These drawings were first published on January 1, 1856, in the *Sacramento Union*, and because of their artistic excellence and historical interest they were republished in a sixty-first anniversary number of that paper on March 31, 1920.

Nahl also made many lithographs¹⁰ and etchings, but these have either disappeared or are hidden in private ownership. He made the drawings for the membership certificates of the Vigilance Committee of 1856, of the Society of California Volunteers (Fire Department) in 1868, and of the Society of California Pioneers (1880). The German love of gymnastics also led him to publish, in collaboration with his half-brother Arthur, a book of "Instructions in Gymnastics" illustrated with more than fifty lithographic plates (1863). Incidentally, the Olympic Club of San Francisco was initiated by the two Nahls.¹¹

There is no doubt that the great fire and earthquake of San Francisco

in 1906 caused the destruction, along with the work of other artists, of many of Nahl's works of which no photographic records have been preserved.

Under the name Nahl Brothers, Charles Nahl and his half-brother, Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl, for many years carried on a business in commercial photography. From 1854 on for many years they appear in the press as daguerreotype artists of San Francisco.¹² Arthur Nahl was also recognized in his day as a landscape painter. In 1863 he painted a portrait of Thomas O. Larkin, who served as United States Consul to California from 1844 to 1846.

His daughter, Augusta Nahl Allen, of Portland, Oregon, is the owner of a drawing of a Grizzly Bear by Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl from which the great seal of the state of California was made. In general, he seems to have been very fond of animals; he owned several spirited horses and many imported dogs, from Great Danes to French Poodles. He also maintained at his residence in Alameda a large aviary filled with many kinds of birds, which served him as models for numerous drawings and some paintings which he made of bird and animal life. None of these has found its way into a public museum, and they are today in the possession of the artist's family. It must here be remembered that Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl was only thirteen years old and too young to profit from the artistic opportunities of his four years at Paris, and his position as an artist is not comparable to that of Charles Christian Nahl, his half-brother.

Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl had seven children, among them, four sons, the oldest of whom, Perham Wilhelm Nahl, also deserves a permanent place in a historical record of the artist members of this distinguished family who belong to the New World. Perham Nahl, who died only last year (in April, 1935), the victim of a reckless automobile driver, was born in 1869 in San Francisco. He learned lithography and other processes, serving an apprenticeship with H. W. Hansen,¹³ then with the firm of H. S. Crocker Company. For seven years, from 1899-1906, he was a student at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, receiving honors in drawing and painting and a scholarship. During the spring term of 1906 he served as an instructor in drawing in the School of Architecture of the University of California at Berkeley. From 1906 to 1907, following the great fire and earthquake which laid waste a great part of the city of San Francisco, temporarily destroying all opportunities for a professional artistic career, Perham Nahl went to Europe, visiting many of the principal galleries and studying the human figure at the Akademie Heyman at Munich. From February to June, 1907, he worked independently in Paris. On his return, in 1907, he founded, together with Frederick Meyer, the California School of Arts and Crafts, to which he gave abundantly of his time and service throughout his life. From 1912 to the time of his death he was engaged without interrup-

tion in teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, where his uncompromising thoroughness, his fine academic draftsmanship, his very unusual gift for teaching, and an attractive personality made him equally respected and beloved by students and faculty alike.

His professional works are not numerous. Aside from painting landscapes, portraits, and allegorical themes, he produced a number of fine prints—monotypes, lithographs, etchings, and drypoints. It is in these that he best revealed his fine understanding of nature and his unusual powers of artistic expression.

His interests late in life extended to Japanese art, particularly the wood-block prints of the Ukiyoe School. The William Dallam Armes¹⁴ collection of Japanese prints, of which he was the curator, was in a sense the motivating force for this new interest, which brought him in contact with many cultured Japanese both in California and in Japan, many of whom became his devoted friends. At the time of his death memorial services in his honor were held in the Buddhist temple in San Francisco, and as a living token of their affection his Japanese friends also established a Japanese garden on the grounds of the California School (now College) of Arts and Crafts in Oakland. Nahl's knowledge and appreciation of Japanese art were surpassed by few Americans. In 1928, and again in 1931, he visited Japan to study and become more intimately acquainted with the life of a people whose art and philosophy of life meant so much to him in his later years.

Nahl received several honors. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915 gave him a bronze medal in the division of prints; and in the field of education, together with F. Meyer and others, he was awarded a silver medal. He also won first place in an open national competition for a decorative poster to advertise this exposition, his design representing the thirteenth labor of Hercules, i. e., the construction of the Panama Canal.

He was particularly interested in furthering the graphic arts, drawing and etching, and he is greatly missed by the San Francisco Society of Etchers, in which he was very active. His illustrations for Professor Arthur W. Ryder's *Twenty-two Goblins*¹⁵ were a contribution in still another field.

Perham Nahl was married twice, and a son from each marriage is carrying on the name, though in other fields than art. His younger brother, Virgil Theodore Nahl, for many years contributed illustrative drawings to San Francisco newspapers, but as a creative artist his performances are not comparable to those of Perham Nahl. Virgil Nahl also left two sons, Virgil and Roy Nahl, to carry on the name in the New World. From the available sources the name Nahl would seem to have died out in Europe, and it remains to be seen whether the artistic tradition of the Nahl family will be carried on by future generations of Nahls in America.

GENEALOGY OF THE MALE LINE OF THE NAHL FAMILY OF ARTISTS THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES

Matthäus Nahl (1618-1668)
(Cabinetmaker & woodcarver)

Johann Samuel Nahl the Elder (1664-1728)
(Sculptor)

Johann August Nahl the Elder (1710-1781)
(Sculptor)

Johann Samuel Nahl the Younger (1748-1813)
(Sculptor)

Johann August Nahl the Younger (1752-1825)
(Painter)

Georg Valentin Friedrich Nahl (1791-1857)
(Etcher & engraver)
Married Augusta Constanze
Henrietta Weickh (1797-1886);
divorced 1826

Charles Christian Nahl (1818-1878)

Johann Wilhelm Nahl (1803-1880)
(Painter & art collector)

Alexander Theodor Nahl (1805-1875)
(Scholar)
Married Henrietta
Weickh, divorced wife
of his cousin,
Friedrich Nahl

Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl (1833-1889)

Perham Wilhelm Nahl (1869-1935)
(Painter & etcher)

Virgil Theodore Nahl (1876-1930)
(Illustrator)

Arthur Charles Nahl (1873-)
(Mining engineer)

Malcolm Nahl (1899-)

Perham Connor Nahl (1909-)

Virgil Nahl (1898-)

Roy Nahl (1914-)

Marjorie Nahl (1910-)
(Painter)

NOTES

1. Adolf Feulner, *Kunstgeschichte des Möbels seit dem Altertum* (Berlin, n.d.).
2. For a very full account of Johann August Nahl the Elder, see Friedrich Bleibaum, *Johann August Nahl der Künstler Friedrichs des Grossen und der Landgrafen von Hessen* (Wien, 1933).
3. See genealogical table at the end.
4. San Francisco *Bulletin*, March 2, 1878.
5. Wenderoth drew on stone the lithograph of Calvary Presbyterian Church, San Francisco (published by Britton & Rey), and with Charles Nahl, B. F. Butler's "Miners Cabin" and "A Miner Prospecting." Harry Twyford Peters, *California on Stone*, N. Y., 1935, pp. 203-4.
6. *Deutsches Kunstblatt* (1847), p. 227; *ibid* (1848), p. 150.
7. Sacramento *Daily Record-Union*, March 9, 1878.
8. Sacramento *Daily Record-Union*, March 9, 1878.
9. In the offices of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company in San Francisco hangs a picture signed "Nahl and Brother, San Francisco 1856." The subject matter is a fire on the water front. What share each of the Nahls contributed to this purely illustrative picture is problematical.
10. See Peters, pp. 172-73.
11. As early as 1855, Charles Christian and his half-brother had maintained an outdoor gymnasium in the backyard of their residence on Bush Street. Intended originally for their own use, it eventually attracted so many of their friends that adjoining backyard space was included in the enterprise. Soon the need for an organized athletic club became apparent, and on May 6, 1860, at a meeting held in the house of the Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company on Broadway, the first athletic club in the United States was founded under the name of "The San Francisco Olympic Club." G. W. Bell was its first president, E. Bonnell secretary, H. Chanks treasurer, and Arthur Nahl the leader, besides whom there were twenty-three charter members. "The New York Athletic Club" was not founded until six years later. The *Olympian*, Vol. VII, No. 77 (May, 1919).
12. In 1854, Charles Nahl and A. Wenderoth, "daguerreotype artists," occupied a studio at 79 Broadway. This, in 1856, was used both as a residence and as a studio by "C. Nahl & Bro., artists," the brother being Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl. Although in 1860 they were still at this address, by 1861 both studio and residence had been removed to 411 Broadway, and by 1862, Charles, at least, was living at 611 Clay Street, though the studio still remained at the Broadway address. In 1867, the "Art and Photographic Gallery" of "Nahl Brothers & [William] Dickman" was at 121 Montgomery, and the brothers lived at 818 Bush Street.
13. Eugen Neuhaus, *History and Ideals of American Art* (1931) p. 324.
14. At one time Professor of English and Director of the Greek Theater at the University of California at Berkeley.
15. London, 1917.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RAISING OF THE AMERICAN FLAG AT YERBA BUENA, JULY 9, 1846

By DOUGLAS S. WATSON

HISTORICAL EVENTS of great importance are not always signalized by battles won, nor by the formal signing of elaborately engrossed treaties. There are occasions where the pivotal act itself is regarded as having only local interest; mere routine, as it were, in the accomplishment of some seemingly larger purpose. Such has been the attitude toward the raising of the American flag by Commander John Barry Montgomery on the morning of Wednesday, July 9, 1846, in the Plaza at Yerba Buena, the village which was later to become the city of San Francisco.

On the other hand, the triumphal entry of General Winfield Scott with his American forces into the City of Mexico has been hailed as the culmination of the Mexican War. It is true that this American victory had far-reaching results; one of which was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which California, New Mexico, and all the vast territory between, from the 42nd parallel south to the new boundary set by that treaty, passed into the permanent possession of the United States.

Has the American conquest of Mexico overshadowed an event of even greater importance than itself; an event that marks an era in world history? Can the flag raising at Yerba Buena be shown to be that epochal event? Such is the purpose of this inquiry.

A brief statement of what took place on July 9, 1846, will be necessary. Shortly after eight o'clock on that morning, Commander J. B. Montgomery landed some seventy marines and sailors from the U. S. sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, then at anchor in Yerba Buena Cove in San Francisco Bay, and marched them up what is now Clay Street to the Yerba Buena Plaza. There by the raising of the American flag he took possession in the name of the United States of America. He likewise read aloud the proclamation of Commodore J. D. Sloat, commanding the American fleet in California waters, and posted copies of the document in both Spanish and English upon the flagstaff. Later that same day, Lieutenant John S. Missroon, accompanied by an armed escort, was dispatched to the ruinous San Francisco Presidio and the deserted Castillo de San Joaquin, at the entrance of San Francisco Bay, and at both places planted the national colors in token of possession.

It is difficult to believe that these routine incidents in the seizure of California have a world-wide significance; and to advance the claim that they are hardly less momentous than the Battle of Tours where Charles Martel

overcame the Mohammedans in 732 A.D., or the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, would seem downright folly. Yet it is the aim of this inquiry to endeavor to make clear that such might be the case.

In the days that ushered in the Christian Era, Rome's sovereign, Augustus, was the ruler of an empire extending from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules and from north Africa to the vast forests which belted Europe from the course of the Rhine to that of the Danube. To the north of that forested area the Emperor was not acknowledged, and to the Roman world the inhabitants of that region were known as barbarians.

Within the Roman Empire authority filtered from the capstone of the pyramid, the Emperor himself, downward until it reached the lowest classes and the slaves whose only right was to obey the commands of their superiors.

Among the Teutonic barbarians, however, this process was reversed. Power and authority came from the individual units of the clans and tribes and was delegated by them to temporary leaders of their own choosing.

Success of the Roman arms in a northward movement of the Imperial legions would have meant a subjugation of the Teutonic peoples and their subsequent Romanization, consequences which followed when victory crowned the Roman eagles in Spain, France, Illyria and elsewhere.

Europe in the year A.D. 9 harbored two distinct systems of polity: the one autocratic and highly centralized, the other democratic and self-governing. And it was in this same year that Imperial Augustus unleashed the Roman legions under Varus in the attempt to crush the tribesmen beyond the Rhine. But victory failed to crown the soldiery of Rome, for Arminius (the name, of course, is the Latinized form of Herman) gathered his forces in defense of the homeland and met the enemy in the Teutoberger Wald, the still-existing forest near today's Detmold in the former principality of Lippe. The defeat Arminius inflicted that day upon the legions of Varus was so complete that germs of Teutonic free institutions were saved to become the heritage of nations yet to be born; centuries later they were to attain full growth and be the foundation stones upon which the laws and governments of both England and the United States were to be built.

Following Julius Caesar's landing in Britain in the first century B.C., the Romanization of its inhabitants, the original Britons, went forward with characteristic energy. A glance at the map of modern England will disclose the extent of the armed Roman occupation which continued for nearly five hundred years. Wherever a place-name ending in "chester" is found it is a reminder of legionary camps, for the Anglo-Saxon "chester" is but the perverted rendering of the Latin *castra* or camp.

The Angles, Jutes and Saxons who descended upon Britain in the Fifth Century of our era wrested the land from the crumbling Roman Empire and obliterated the thin veneer of Italian law, customs and civilization that had been forced upon the conquered Britons. These invaders brought with them

the heritage of free institutions which Arminius had saved from extinction by his defeat of Varus and which were destined to develop into our common law and our popular self-government. A thousand years were to pass before the English began their settlements in America, bringing with them those precious fundamentals of polity which were to flower into our own Constitution and what we term today the American system of government.

Spain on the other hand had become so completely Romanized by colonization and military occupation that the Imperial system survived even the invasions of the Visigoths from the north and the swarming into the Iberian peninsula of the Mohammedan cohorts from Africa. Long after the Roman Empire had vanished, Spain continued to be Roman both in thought and practice, the effect, doubtless, of the introduction of Christianity from Rome where the Church had fallen heir to what remained of Imperial power. When Granada fell and the last of the Moors were expelled, just before Columbus sailed from Palos on August 3, 1492, Spain was again free to extend its sway under Ferdinand and Isabella over the whole of the former Roman provinces of Hispania. The system of government then imposed upon its people was none other than the old Imperial system, modified by time and existing conditions.

Roman law and military control, joined with Papal organization, which had assimilated many of the old Imperial functions, were transplanted to America at the beginning of Spain's expanding colonial occupation. The expeditions of explorers and adventurers that overwhelmed the islands of the Caribbean, conquered Mexico, and, turning south, swallowed Peru and most of South America, carried with them institutions grounded upon principles diametrically opposed to those revered by the emigrants from England who settled the Atlantic shores of North America. Power and authority imposed from above was the Spanish ideal: the Roman system; the English colonists relied upon their heritages of free assembly and the rights of the individual to choose those who should exercise authority.

In the course of the two hundred and fifty years following the conquest of Mexico by Cortez in 1521, Spain had spread its dominion southward to the Argentine and to Chili and northward to the Bay of San Francisco. At this latter point, on September 17, 1776, there was laid the foundation of her most northerly and westerly permanent stronghold in North America: the Presidio of San Francisco. It was a Roman outpost, Roman in form, Roman even in name—for the Spanish *presidio* is the equivalent of the Latin *praesidium*, the fortified camp or *castra* which the Roman legions built wherever they were in possession.

From the first feeble English settlement at Jamestown in Virginia in 1607, and from the colonies at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, founded in 1620 and 1630, there was destined to grow a population which eventually occupied the Atlantic shoreline from Maine to Florida. These settlers fol-

lowed their inherited system of self-government, the forms of which differed slightly from place to place, but which in large measure were based upon self-determination: the rights of individuals to meet in free assembly and choose representatives to act for them.

Thus again we find confronting each other, this time in the Western Hemisphere, the two ancient systems of polity which had struggled for supremacy in A.D. 9 in the German forestlands. Like two mighty streams pouring into the vast unknown interior of the continent, each of these armies of newcomers pursued its way toward the west. The years to come would see them in conflict, but where the one or the other would bow to the vanquishing foe, no man could know.

In time the descendants of the English settlers crossed the Appalachians. From Virginia and North Carolina, Kentucky received its pioneers. Down the Ohio the invading army took its march, carrying with it its Anglo-Saxon methods of governmental organization. It is true that at times the beginnings of democratic government planted in the wilderness were crude in pattern, but they were always based upon the fundamental principles from which the original thirteen States were erected. Wherever some group halted to clear the forest and build cabins, automatically the individuals composing it met to choose their leaders and to put into practice the rules of self-government from which in time new States were to be born.

The conquest of the North American continent by hardy English-speaking people was neither hurried nor spectacular. Whatever advance was made by the onward-moving pioneers was consolidated so that each new advance pressed forward from organized bases inhabited by men and women whose aims and ideals were identical with theirs. This made for unity and solidarity. A nation of free men was being built.

Destiny decreed that the people of Spanish speech and the Spanish-Roman system of government should clash with the English-speaking polity. Here and there on the westward march to the Pacific they had come into contact with varying results, but it was reserved for California to be the scene which would end the conflict. Mexico, having thrown off the rule of the mother country but continuing to exercise sovereignty in the only way it knew, inherited Spain's most northerly and westerly stronghold, the Presidio of San Francisco, under the shadow of whose ruined fortifications the village of Yerba Buena came into being in 1835.

Here the two streams of opposing polities met. Here, with the lowering of the Mexican ensign and the hoisting of the American flag on July 9, 1846, the conquest of government imposed from above by government deriving its power and authority from the full choice of the people was complete as far as the continental area of the United States of America was concerned. Thus after a lapse of eighteen hundred and thirty-seven years it was here that the Roman system, the system Imperial Augustus had striven to impose

upon the unconquered Teutons led by Arminius, fell before the advance of the descendants of the defenders of old who fought to preserve the right of the individual to be governed by those of his own choosing.

The raising of the American flag over Yerba Buena's Plaza and the planting of the national banner at the Castillo de San Joaquin and the Presidio of San Francisco would therefore appear to take on a deeper significance and to become an event of world import.



Interior of Underground Cistern at Van Ness Avenue and
Grove Street During Construction, 1936

SAN FRANCISCO'S CISTERNS

By CHARLES R. BODEN*

COMPLETION of work on nineteen new cisterns, or underground water storage reservoirs, recalls the history of the cisterns of San Francisco, which begins almost with the start of the Fire Department as an organization of volunteers and the birth of San Francisco as an incorporated city.

The Gold Rush transformed San Francisco from a sleepy little village into a thriving community in a few short months. Houses were constructed with no thought of the fire hazard, and the new inhabitants of the future metropolis were too busy in their hunt for gold, either in business or in the mines, to worry about a fire protection system.

On December 24, 1849, occurred the great conflagration in San Francisco, which in the town's annals has been called ever since, the "First Great Fire." It broke out early in the morning in Dennison's Exchange, on Kearny Street, opposite Portsmouth Square, and spread toward Montgomery Street. More than fifty houses were destroyed, and the total loss was estimated at one million dollars.

This fire was the impetus which resulted in the organization of the volunteer companies, out of which the San Francisco Fire Department was to grow. On Christmas Day, 1849, a meeting of citizens was held for this purpose. Several of those present had been firemen in Eastern cities, among them the future Senator from California, David C. Broderick, Frederick D. Kohler, and George H. Hossefross. The latter two were both later to become fire chiefs. The department was formally organized in January, 1850, and the only three fire engines in town were purchased, to be manned by three companies, called San Francisco, Empire, and Protection. Mr. Kohler became first Chief Engineer, a title which the head of the Department carries to this day in San Francisco.

The "Second Great Fire" broke out on May 4, 1850. This originated in the United States Exchange, a saloon and gambling place built on the site of the old Dennison Exchange, and destroyed the entire block between Kearny, Clay, Montgomery, and Washington streets, with the exception of two houses, and almost the entire two blocks between Montgomery, Washington, Dupont, and Jackson streets. It was estimated that more than three hundred houses were burned, with a loss of from three to four million dollars.

The citizens set about with a will to repair the ruined portions of the town, but scarcely six months later the "Third Great Fire" broke out, on

* Especial thanks are due Battalion Chief Fred J. Bowlen, of the San Francisco Fire Department, who prepared interesting notes and figures on "Underground Cisterns for Fire Fighting Purposes" and generously allowed full use of his material by the Society.

June 14. This fire taught the distracted merchants and residents that the ordinary frame buildings, lined with cotton and paper, of which most of the town was constructed, were not meant to withstand a conflagration. For this reason, when the burned district was rebuilt, a number of brick structures replaced the wooden buildings.

Vigorous efforts were made to organize more fire companies and to increase the efficiency of the volunteer department. These three great fires in rapid succession also started an agitation for the construction of wells and cisterns, and they were ordered built by the city authorities.

The use of cisterns, or artificial receptacles for storing water, dates back to the time of the ancients. Cisterns had been in use in the cities of the Atlantic States (where they were called "water holes") long before they were used in San Francisco. While a cistern does not necessarily have to be located underground, the cisterns used in San Francisco for fire fighting purposes, from the early days to the present, have all been so placed. San Francisco's first cisterns were located in the thickly settled districts north of Market Street and east of Powell Street, down to Sansome Street, which was then the water front.

These first "sunken tanks" were nothing more than square wooden boxes of tar-soaked planks, with caulked seams, and were fitted with flat wooden tops. They were sunk in varying depths of from 10 to 15 feet, with capacities ranging from 14,800 to 30,000 gallons, and were kept filled by water carts, which drew their supplies from springs on the slope rising from Montgomery Street toward the west. One of these springs lay in the hollow between Sacramento Street and Prospect Place. Another and more copious one was bounded by Clay, Washington, Mason, and Taylor streets.

As an example of the durability of the planking in these old wooden cisterns, it is interesting to note that in the rebuilding of the cistern at Montgomery and Pacific streets the engineers found the top plank quite sound after fifty-seven years' service.

Fifteen cisterns were built in 1852, and thirty-six were in use in 1856. Ten years later there were fifty in use. The repairing of the old cisterns progressed with the building of new ones. Early records disclose that nearly every cistern was rebuilt at one time or another in brick, with wooden flat tops, which were later replaced by arched brick tops. Nineteen new cisterns were built in 1856, and in that same year ten wooden cisterns were rebuilt with brick.

San Francisco's early-day cisterns were usually square or round, as space and funds permitted, but that at Montgomery and California streets is a perfect ellipse, 39 by 19 feet. In depth, they ranged from 10 to 27 feet, with diameters from 20 to 30 feet, and with capacities from 106,000 gallons (that at Eighteenth and Harrison streets) to 14,728 gallons (that at Powell and Broadway).

San Francisco's oldest cistern, according to all available records, is the one located at California and Montgomery streets. It was built in 1852, with a capacity of 32,000 gallons, and was rebuilt in brick four years later. Another old cistern, built also in 1852, and rebuilt in brick in 1856, is located at Kearny and Merchant streets, near the present Hall of Justice and opposite Portsmouth Square. This is known as the "Plaza cistern," and has a capacity of 36,000 gallons.

The transformation of these early cisterns from wood to brick was placed in the hands of John Duane, an expert brick mason and brother of former Chief Engineer Charles F. Duane. In 1909, he related to a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* the story of his reconstruction of about a dozen of these cisterns. Many years later his brickwork was found by investigating engineers to be in almost perfect condition.

In the sixties, there was a decrease in the number of cisterns constructed, and the municipal reports began to reveal complaints concerning the disintegration of certain of the older ones. There seemed at that time to be a lack of interest in the cistern system, due, no doubt, to the installation of water mains and reservoirs, and also, probably, because of the introduction into the volunteer department of steam engines. With California, No. 4, Monumental, No. 6, Pennsylvania, No. 12, and Tiger, No. 14, so equipped, our pioneer firemen felt that they had sufficient security against fire and did not need the cisterns any longer. In the twelve years between 1856 and 1868, but nine new cisterns were built, and these only in places where the water pressure was very low. In the same period, but one cistern was reconstructed.

This period constitutes the dark day of the cistern system. Water mains and sewers put many out of commission, and builders and contractors, with little civic consciousness and less idea of fire protection, found it convenient to fill cisterns with unused building material. The constant fixing and changing of street grades likewise had an effect upon the cistern system. This caused the cistern at Powell and Filbert streets to have a neck of eleven feet.

In 1868, faith and interest in the cisterns were renewed, for in the next two years ten 100,000-gallon cisterns were built. Five of these were located in the Mission district, in the area bounded by Sixteenth, Twenty-second, Folsom, and Shotwell streets; one was placed at First and Harrison streets; and three were built on the ridge—at the intersections of Leavenworth and Union, Mason and California, and Dupont and Greenwich streets. With the construction of these, there was a total of forty-one cisterns in the district bounded by Market, Greenwich, Sansome, and Powell streets.

As a result of the recommendation of Chief Engineer Charles H. Ackerson, two more cisterns were built in 1870-71, of a combined capacity of 95,000 gallons, in Railroad Avenue, at Eleventh and Twelfth avenues, respectively.

In his report of June 6, 1870, Chief Ackerson shows his faith in the cisterns:

The rapid extension of the city to the south and west admonishes me of the necessity of an increase of water facilities for the use of the Fire Department, as in case of an accident or disarrangement of the water company's pipes that large district would be entirely unprotected in the event of a serious conflagration. I therefore recommend that eight cisterns of 60,000 gallons capacity each be constructed, to be located at such points as may be selected by the proper authority.¹

Instead of eight, Chief Ackerson got but two cisterns.

The year 1872 marked the construction of the last cisterns in San Francisco until after the 1906 disaster. There were at that time (1872) sixty-four cisterns, with a total capacity of almost 3,000,000 gallons. However, the heads of the department continued to agitate for and recommend improvement in the cistern system, but without success. In his report, dated July 1, 1871, Chief Engineer David Scannell had called attention to the leaky condition of at least twelve cisterns, and recommended repairs.² Again on June 30, 1872, he pointed out the location of leaky cisterns, and also asked for the construction of two new cisterns in Beale Street, at Howard and at Mission streets. These he said were necessary because of the "hay barns, lumber yards and manufactories" in that district.

A probable collapse of the water system was predicted by Chief Engineer F. E. R. Whitney, in his report, dated July 20, 1873:

As casualties do and will occur that are beyond our control as guardians and protectors of public interest, it is our duty to make such preparations as shall most successfully avert these unforeseen and sometimes disastrous misfortunes. One of these, which may befall at any time, is a disarrangement of or bursting of the water pipes in our streets. As auxiliary to our present facilities and to meet such emergencies as indicated, I recommend that cisterns of the capacity of 100,000 gallons each be built at the intersections of Webster and California streets, Bush Street and Van Ness Avenue, Leavenworth and Sacramento streets, and Park (Twenty-fourth) and Mission streets.³

Despite this strong recommendation, nothing was done. Of the sixty-four cisterns listed in 1872, but twenty-three were listed in the "cistern reports" of 1906, the others being tabulated as "lost."⁴

In October, 1905, just seven months before the great disaster of April 18, 1906, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, in a very comprehensive report, stated:

... there are twenty-three fire cisterns, constructed for fire fight-

ing purposes, of capacities varying from 16,000 to 100,000 gallons each, which are placed at scattered locations throughout the older part of the city. They are built of brick, with the bottom twenty feet and the top of the dome two feet below street level; entrance through a manhole. Cisterns are maintained by the Fire Department, being filled from the water company's mains; they are very seldom used.⁵

A dire prediction, soon to be fulfilled, is found in one of the conclusions embraced in this 1905 report: "In fact San Francisco has violated all underwriting traditions and precedents by not burning up. That it has not done so is largely due to the vigor of the Fire Department, which cannot be relied upon indefinitely to stave off the inevitable."

The beloved Chief Engineer, Dennis T. Sullivan, whose fate it was to die from injuries while the greatest fire of his career burned around him, was a firm believer in an independent underground water supply, and in his reports from 1895 to 1899 he pleaded with the city authorities to construct more cisterns.

At a quarter past five in the morning of Wednesday, April 18, 1906, San Francisco was visited by a series of earthquake shocks of great violence. As a result of the extensive damage done by these shocks, numerous fires broke out over the city. The water supply system, normally rated at 36,000,000 gallons a day, was seriously crippled by these earth tremors. It was estimated that there were 2234 major breaks in the distribution system, and that more than 28,000 domestic supply lines were ruptured. No effective resistance could be offered to the holocaust by the Fire Department. The fire-alarm system was rendered useless by the first earthquake shock. The conflagration which followed lasted three days and destroyed 2831 acres. This burned area included the greater part of the business section and a large part of the residence district. Underwriters estimated that the damage amounted to at least four-fifths of the property value of the city. The San Francisco fire of 1906, as regards destruction, is still considered the greatest in the annals of history.

Both the 1905 and 1906 reports of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, made before and after the great disaster, agree that the San Francisco Fire Department was efficient. The 1906 report, commenting on its efficiency, states: ". . . it is a reasonable presumption that had water been abundant the Fire Department might have obtained control by noon of the first day."⁶

And Chief Engineer Patrick H. Shaughnessy, speaking on the lessons of the disaster to the International Association of Fire Engineers at Dallas a few months later, declared his men would have prevented the disaster but for the failure of the water supply:

San Francisco's Fire Department has long been recognized as one of the most efficient in the United States. It deserves the reputation it has borne by reason of the discipline and character of the men who are in service and the superiority of its apparatus. Handicapped as the department has been by reason of the fact that ninety per cent. of the buildings in San Francisco were frame and were constructed on hilly territory, with the winds of the Pacific Ocean sweeping over the city at all hours, it has been able to cope with all conflagrations up to the one of the memorable 18th of April, and would have prevented the tremendous fire that swept over so many acres at that time, had it not been hampered by a crippled water supply.⁷

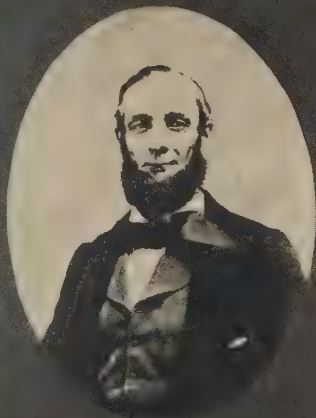
And now the question may be asked: What part did the underground fire cisterns play in the greatest test to which any system of cisterns could ever be put? The 1906 underwriters' report says:

The cisterns appear to have survived the shock and were generally made use of by the Fire Department, in some cases with useful effect. Acting Chief Dougherty⁸ stated that the check of the fire at the southerly border in the Mission Street district at Twentieth Street was mainly due to a cistern at Twenty-second Street and Shotwell Street. Similarly at Vallejo and Dupont.

In a splendid article on the cistern system, the San Francisco *Chronicle* in 1909 suggested more cisterns in light of the experience of 1906:

Those that were in service in 1906, with a combined capacity of 850,000 gallons, did effective work in the fire. The contents of four alone—three in Pacific Street, at the intersections of Sansome, Montgomery, and Kearny streets, and one at Dupont and Washington, saved the Montgomery Block, making it an oasis in a desert of ruins. The entire capacity of these four cisterns was only 115,000 gallons. What might not have been accomplished if the cisterns in the old city had been maintained for emergencies, with their 1,300,000 gallons against the 800,000 gallons that were scattered throughout the entire city? If the recommendations of fire chiefs had been heeded, San Francisco would have had 2,559,740 gallons in the hour of its greatest need.⁹

While but twenty-three cisterns were included in the "cistern reports" of 1906 and made known to the fire-fighting force, to the credit of the firemen, when the great fire was raging, they succeeded in locating many unrecorded cisterns, and drafted them dry, as they did the private cisterns of the Mark Hopkins Institute, at Mason and California streets, and the General Electric Company, at Folsom and Hawthorne streets.



F. E. R. WHITNEY

DAVID SCANNELL

DENNIS T. SULLIVAN

CHARLES J. BRENNAN

San Francisco Fire Chiefs Who Have Been Staunch Proponents
of Underground Cisterns

Of the 585 men who constituted the Fire Department that fateful morning in 1906, but 12 now remain in active service. These include Chief Engineer Charles J. Brennan, First Assistant Chief Engineer Thomas J. Murphy, and Captain Theodore Trivett, head of the Bureau of Fire Prevention, all of whom asserted without equivocation that the cisterns rendered valiant service during the great disaster.

In June, 1906, a story was circulated that the Fire Department had overlooked some water in several cisterns during the big fire. This was promptly denied in the press by Battalion Chief Thomas R. Murphy, later Chief Engineer, who said:

We used the water in every cistern that held any. Property owners may rest assured that nothing thin enough to run through a hose was overlooked. We knew exactly where every cistern was and sucked every one dry. Besides pumping this water on the fire, we used it in the boilers of the engines pumping water from the bay, as salt water can't be used in boilers. . . . This fire demonstrated that they [*the cisterns*] are of great value and that we should have more of them.¹⁰

Cisterns actually used during the 1906 conflagration, and by what engine companies, including the Oakland apparatus, are shown in the following table:¹¹

NORTH OF MARKET STREET

LOCATION	Capacity Gallons	Built	Rebuilt	Drafted By
Sansome and Pacific streets.....	30,000	1854	_____	Engine 20
Montgomery and California streets.....	32,000	1852	1856	Engine 2
Montgomery and Commercial streets.....	32,000	1852	1856	Engine 28
Montgomery and Pacific streets...	30,000	1854	1856	Engine 1
Kearny and Pacific streets.....	30,000	1854	1856	Engine 28
Grant avenue and California street.....	30,000	1854	1856	Engine 28
Grant avenue and Pacific street...	32,750	1852	1856	Engine 4 (Oakland F. D.)
Grant avenue and Vallejo street....	30,000	1856	_____	Engine 5
Stockton and Washington streets	25,000	1854	_____	Engine 5 (Oakland F. D.)
Stockton and Pacific streets.....	25,000	1854	_____	Engine 28
Stockton street and Broadway.....	20,000	1854	_____	Engine 28
Stockton and Vallejo streets.....	20,000	1854	_____	Engine 5 (Oakland F. D.)
Powell street and Broadway.....	14,728	1854	1856	Engine 5
Mason and California streets.....	20,000	1868	_____	Engine 3

SOUTH OF MARKET STREET

LOCATION	Capacity	Built	Rebuilt	Drafted By
	Gallons			
First and Folsom streets.....	29,000	1856		Engine 5
Second and Folsom streets.....	51,000	1859		Engine 10
First and Harrison streets.....	100,000	1870		Engine 35
Third and Mission streets.....	32,262	1856		Engine 36

MISSION DISTRICT

Nineteenth street, between Folsom and Shotwell.....	100,000	1868		Engines 10, 35
Twenty-second and Shotwell streets.....	100,000	1867		Engine 18

At the Dallas Convention, Chief Shaughnessy paid tribute to the efficiency of the system of cisterns by recommending more cisterns. He said:

In regard to the future water supply for fire protection here, my plan would be to build reinforced concrete cisterns 1000 to 1500 feet apart, each with a capacity of 100,000 gallons. These should be distributed in various parts of the city, to be used in the event of the usual water system being cut off or disabled from any cause whatsoever. These cisterns would necessarily have to be filled with fresh water for the reason that our engines are not suitable for pumping salt water, unless there is fresh water to feed the boilers.¹²

And in August, 1906, while Chief Shaughnessy informed the joint committee on fire and water of the Board of Supervisors that he thought the proposed auxiliary water supply system on Twin Peaks was not practicable for San Francisco, he took occasion to renew his recommendation that cisterns of reinforced concrete, and of 100,000 gallons capacity, be constructed in the ground, "principally at the gore corners on Market Street, about 800 feet apart, and in the Mission and Western Addition two blocks apart."¹³

At that time, the Chief reported that twenty-four cisterns were in readiness to use, twelve had been filled in by certain corporations, and twenty-one were cracked.

In February, 1908, W. C. Robinson, Chief Engineer of Underwriters' Laboratories, Inc., of Chicago, reported that "in districts protected by the high-pressure system, the necessity for fire cisterns is confined to localities in which breakage of mains may be expected to occur at time of earthquake."¹⁴

Mr. Robinson did not entirely agree that the sixty-five cisterns asked by Chief Shaughnessy should be installed. He agreed, however, on the necessity of cisterns as additional protection on the soft or filled-in areas. He thought the Chief was "perhaps unduly apprehensive regarding the security of the high-pressure mains in firm ground."

The people of San Francisco, smarting under the lessons of the disaster of April 18-20, 1906, voted a large bond issue for fire protection, and in October, 1908, contracts were let for the first three cisterns of the eighty-five to be built in connection with the auxiliary high-pressure fire system.¹⁵ In the building of the cistern at Seventh and Mission streets, the contractor, to his dismay, discovered the lost and forgotten creek which used to flow past that intersection.¹⁶

In 1915, the year of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, Assistant City Engineer Alfred J. Cleary published the story of San Francisco's new water supply system for fire protection. It is an engineer's narrative, but written so the layman can understand. The building of this great high-pressure system, finished in 1913 at an expenditure of \$5,745,000, when first put into service, caused fire insurance rates to be reduced more than \$1,000,-000 a year.

Pointing out the cistern's real function, that of a reserve water supply if an earthquake should disrupt the distribution lines, Mr. Cleary said:

Beside the pipe distribution system, the auxiliary water supply includes 135 underground cisterns, from which water can be pumped in case high pressure mains are ever disabled. Numerous brick cisterns existed at the time of the 1906 disaster, but they had not been maintained and their location was unknown to the fire department. Had they been in condition and full of water, the fire could have been confined to a much smaller area. Fifty of the old cisterns have been repaired since 1906 and are now in first class condition, and 85 new cisterns of reinforced concrete have been constructed. These are built beneath the surface at street crossings, and their position is indicated by a distinctive type of pavement around their perimeter. The average diameter is 30 feet and the average capacity 75,000 gallons. All are very heavily reinforced and designed to withstand vibration. For this reason no pipes for filling or emptying are rigidly connected with the cisterns, as they might exert a disrupting force.¹⁷

In February, 1936, City Engineer John J. Casey reported 142 underground cisterns, full of water. Of these, 86 are of reinforced concrete, with capacity of 75,000 gallons each. These, and 56 older cisterns of capacities ranging from 20,000 to 50,000 gallons, are kept filled with fresh water. City Engineer Casey also revealed that connections for pumping engines are provided at swimming tanks, park lakes, and other sources, aggregating 20,000,000 gallons storage.¹⁸

Nineteen new cisterns have just been completed and are now in service. These are on Van Ness Avenue, Market Street, and Dolores Street, from Fort Mason to Thirtieth Street, and are not more than 1000 feet apart.

Each has a capacity of 75,000 gallons, is designated by a distinctive type of paving block, and is independent of any pipe-line connection. This makes a total of 161 cisterns in San Francisco, ready for use by the Fire Department. Incidentally, the city's largest cistern, with a capacity of 250,000 gallons, is located under the fountains in the Civic Center, opposite the Polk Street entrance of the City Hall.

The history of San Francisco has revealed that, as the residents felt their fire protection system gave them security, there was a tendency to neglect or to forget the cistern system. This was especially true in the early days, when the new steam engines for the volunteer companies arrived and were put into use. To those who think the cisterns are outmoded, too expensive, and not to be bothered with as long as San Francisco has a splendid high-pressure system, the answer is that if there could be a guarantee that no more earthquakes would occur, perhaps the cisterns might be done away with. But as long as there is a possibility that earth shocks will break the mains and cripple the distribution system, there is a need for a cistern system.

The present executive head of the San Francisco Fire Department, Chief Engineer Charles J. Brennan,¹⁹ is fully aware of this fact, and for that reason is a strong believer in cisterns. In an interesting interview in November, 1936, he said to the writer:

I am firmly convinced that if we had had the number of cisterns at present installed underground throughout the city, and particularly the line recently installed on Van Ness Avenue, Market and Dolores streets, in 1906, a great deal of the property damage would have been avoided.

Asked for the reason for the construction of the so-called Van Ness, Market and Dolores line of cisterns, Chief Brennan explained:

We established this line of cisterns, each unit being not farther than 1000 feet from the other, along the line of streets indicated, to serve as a last reserve in the event that an earthquake shock of sufficient violence might devastate San Francisco, destroying the water supply of the city.

Geologists recognize the existence of a system of faults extending through the State of California in a general northeasterly and southwesterly direction. Unequal strains in the crust of the earth cause movements of the rock masses along the walls of these faults, and these movements or readjustments of the rock masses are the cause of the numerous earthquakes which occur in this vicinity.

From 1850 to 1906, there were 465 earthquakes in San Francisco, according to a table prepared by the Smithsonian Institution. While the majority were minor disturbances, there were a number of very heavy shocks, even

prior to 1906. In 1865 and 1868, there were earthquakes of sufficient severity as to be rated of "intensity IX" in the Rossi-Forel scale.²⁰

In 1906, no serious injury occurred to pipe lines constructed in firm ground, and the majority of breaks, in pipe lines of both the water and gas companies, occurred in areas of soft alluvium and in artificially filled, or "made," ground.

In San Francisco's modern high-pressure system, the pipes have been laid, as far as possible, in streets of solid ground where no pipes of the domestic water system were broken in 1906. Pipe lines laid in filled-in ground, which may possibly break in a severe earthquake shock, can be shut off from the rest of the system, and these pipes are made more flexible than those in the solid ground.

While there has been no earthquake of sufficient intensity to disrupt any water mains or pipes since 1906, seismologists will not say that San Francisco is earthquake-proof. In fact, the opinion has been given by experts that a shock as great, or even greater, than that in 1906 may occur some day.

Asked his opinion on the effect on the present water system of a severe earthquake, Chief Brennan replied:

Since 1906 the domestic water supply system has been greatly strengthened and improved, but a shock of great intensity, such as we had in 1906, would doubtless cause ruptures in the mains, because in many sections of the city the piping is installed in filled-in ground.

The high-pressure system, constructed since the 1906 disaster, is built of much stronger and heavier pipe than is that of the domestic supply system, and is especially designed to resist earthquake shock. Because of our geographical location in such close proximity to the two major faults in the State of California—the San Andreas and the Hayward faults—shocks are certain to recur.

Is it any wonder that Chief Brennan is a firm believer in a system of underground cisterns, as a reserve in event of earthquakes, after his thorough study of the past earthquake history of San Francisco and California, and after his numerous consultations with seismologists of national repute?

To indicate that the cisterns have not been idle since 1906, Chief Brennan called attention to a three-alarm fire at the old licorice factory at First and Harrison streets, about fifteen years ago, where water was drafted from a cistern, and said that cisterns were used at the very dangerous Ewing Field fire, in June, 1926, and at the four-alarm "Larkins" fire at Arguello Boulevard and Geary Street, in December, 1928.²¹

It is more than eighty-four years since the first cistern was built in San Francisco, and in that time the city has grown from a frontier town to a splendid metropolis and the Fire Department has progressed from a handful

of willing volunteers to one of the most efficient fire-fighting bodies in the world. But the need for a system of underground cisterns is as great now as it was then. It is hoped that San Francisco will never be forced to use this "last reserve," but if such an event does occur, then cisterns will be relied upon for efficient aid in the crisis.

NOTES

1. *Municipal Reports*, San Francisco, 1870. Charles H. Ackerson was Chief Engineer from July 20, 1870, to April 3, 1871.

2. *Municipal Reports*, San Francisco, 1871. David Scannell served as Chief Engineer, in both volunteer and paid departments, for over twenty-five years, having been first elected in 1860.

3. *Municipal Reports*, San Francisco, 1873. F. E. R. Whitney was second Chief of the volunteer department, having been elected in November, 1851. He was first Chief Engineer of the paid department.

4. *Municipal Reports*, San Francisco, 1906.

5. *Report of National Board of Fire Underwriters, Committee of Twenty, on City of San Francisco, Cal.*, 1905.

6. *The San Francisco Conflagration of April, 1906; Special Report to the National Board of Fire Underwriters, May, 1906.*

7. "Some Lessons of the San Francisco Earthquake and Conflagration," by Patrick H. Shaughnessy, a paper read before the Dallas convention of the International Association of Fire Engineers, in *Fire and Water Engineers*, November 3, 1906.

8. The morning of April 18, 1906, Chief Engineer Dennis T. Sullivan was seriously injured in the collapse of the firehouse of Engine No. 2, on Bush Street, below Grant Avenue. John Dougherty was Acting Chief Engineer from April 18 to June 15, 1906. He then returned to his old post as first assistant chief and was retired on pension, August 1, 1906.

9. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 1908.

10. *San Francisco Call*, June 5, 1906.

11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 1908.

12. Shaughnessy, Patrick H., *op. cit.* Shaughnessy became Chief Engineer on June 15, 1906, and served until March 16, 1910, when he was retired on pension.

13. *San Francisco Call*, August 19, 1906.

14. *Report by W. C. Robinson, Chief Engineer of the Underwriters' Laboratories, Incorporated, Chicago, to the Committee on Fire Department and Water Supply of the Board of Fire Underwriters of the Pacific, on a Proposed Auxiliary Water Supply System for Fire Protection in San Francisco, California*, February 12, 1908.

15. *San Francisco Call*, October 10, 1908.

16. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1909.

17. "The Municipal Engineering Works of San Francisco," including "San Francisco's Auxiliary Water-Supply for Fire Protection," by Alfred J. Cleary, Assistant City Engineer, San Francisco, in *Engineering News*, February 18, 1915. Mr. Cleary, Assistant City Engineer from 1908 to 1920, became Secretary to Mayor Angelo J. Rossi in 1931 and since January 8, 1932, has been Chief Administrative Officer of San Francisco.

18. Mimeographed summary of San Francisco's water supply and fire protection system, prepared in February, 1936, by John J. Casey, City Engineer. The following paragraphs are quoted in full because of their general interest:

The system is composed of the following units:

- 1 reservoir, capacity 10,500,000 gallons at elevation 758 feet;
- 1 steel tank, capacity, 500,000 gallons at elevation 493.5 feet;
- 1 reinforced concrete tank, capacity, 750,000 gallons, at elevation 369 feet;
- 102 miles of cast iron distribution pipes, 20 in. to 10 in. diameter;
- 1277 triple outlet hydrants;
- 142 cisterns (under streets) full of water;
- 2 emergency salt water pumping stations;
- 2 fireboats;
- 1 complete fire alarm system.

The distribution pipe system covers about 18 square miles of the 42 square miles which constitute the land area of the City. All pipes, reservoirs, and cisterns are kept filled with fresh water, secured by pumping from the domestic water supply system.

Two salt water pumping stations are provided to pump salt water into the mains if the fresh water supply should be insufficient. Pumping Station No. 1 is at Second and Townsend Streets. No. 2 is in the Fort Mason Military Reservation at the foot of Van Ness Avenue. Each station has an intake tunnel in solid rock, through which salt water can be pumped from San Francisco Bay, and two independent force mains leading into the pipe network. Each station is equipped with four steam turbine driven pumps of total capacity of 12,000 gallons per minute at 300 pounds pressure. Steam is maintained at each station sufficient to operate one pump at any moment. The other has storage for oil and water sufficient for 96 hours' service. Station No. 2 has water storage for 11 hours' and oil storage for 96 hours' run.

Eighty-six cisterns of reinforced concrete, capacity 75,000 gallons each, have been constructed beneath the surface of the street. These and 56 older cisterns of capacities ranging from 20,000 to 50,000 gallons, are kept filled with fresh water and can be drawn from by pumping engines. Connections for pumping engines are also provided at swimming tanks, park lakes, and other sources, aggregating 20,000,000 gallons storage.

19. Charles J. Brennan, the present Chief Engineer, was appointed November 8, 1929, to succeed Chief Engineer Thomas R. Murphy, who headed the Department from March 16, 1910, to his death, November 4, 1929. Chief Brennan has just retired as president of the International Association of Fire Chiefs.

20. Earthquake catalogues, Smithsonian Institution.

21. Chief Brennan is authority for the statement that the Ewing Field fire of 1926 was the nearest approach to a conflagration since the 1906 fire. Sparks spread with such rapidity that numerous fires broke out in the neighborhood and as far down town as Webster Street. Practically every piece of fire equipment in the city, excepting the fire boats, was called into service.

"THE EMIGRANT'S DREAM"

By E. A. WILTSEE

IN MAKING a collection of letters of the Gold Rush period of the Western States, there was recently secured one written March 1, 1864, at Virginia City, at that time the metropolis of Montana Territory. It is well written, and because it contains a description of the hardships endured by the prospectors in Montana's early placer period, it has been reproduced in full, including the verse, or doggerel, whose title is the heading of this article.

It is well known that the discovery of gold led to the development and settlement of several Western States. Of these, of course, the first was California. But when the Fraser River "excitement" proved such a tremendous fizzle in 1857 and 1858, Oregon and Washington were filled with California miners who had embarked their all in that "bubble" which burst so completely and left them stranded. Shortly, parties of them worked their way up the Columbia River to The Dalles and started to develop the placers of Eastern Oregon in what was termed the "John Day country," just north of the present Baker City. Rich placers were immediately found, and the intrepid miners gradually moved east into the Nez Perce country in Idaho, fighting hostile Indians with one hand and digging their hard-earned gold with the other. Continuing, they pushed along the Salmon River through Idaho and into Bannack, Montana. Others worked south into the great Boise Basin, where there were five camps, three named after those left behind in California. Their course led onward across Montana, and resulted in the opening of the great early-day placers of Alder Gulch (Virginia City), Bannack, Silver Bow (Butte), Last Chance (Helena), and a host of smaller ones. Thus, in a short time, the states of Idaho and Montana were opened up and developed from the West, instead of, as might be expected, from the East. As a result of this placer movement and the assaying of the quartz veins and outcrops, Montana's great mineral deposits of silver, copper, and lead, which still have such a large production, were gradually developed.

One of the curious facts of those early times was the manner in which the placer miners in their newly discovered regions kept their California brothers informed of their work and its results, so that the latter could avail themselves of the new "strikes" if they found them superior to their California holdings.

Why there should have been a continuous stream of hardy miners coming West while thousands were returning to their Eastern homes has always been a matter for curiosity. But a perusal of the old letters of the period shows two things: first, that the successes of the few who returned to any

community with their "piles," encouraged many others to try their fortunes, on the theory that "if Sam Jones made his pile, I know I can make a bigger one"; and secondly, the periodicals and literature of the period were filled with alluring, exciting articles and verse, which, if not propaganda, at least caused the adventurous to endeavor to obtain the fortunes that all so ardently desired.

The letter written by Mr. T. L. Dickerson to his girl in Shelburn, Indiana, and reproduced later in this article, contained the following:

THE EMIGRANT'S DREAM

A Parody

In slumbers of midnight, the Emigrant lay,
 And hard was the ground whereon he reclined;
 But wayworn and weary, the scenes of the day,
 In visions of night were impressed on his mind.
 He dreamed of his team, of the many long hours,
 They had toiled on the road that hot sultry day;
 Of the alkali spring, where in spite of his powers
 His cattle would drink, 'ere he drove them away.
 Then Fancy her magical pinions spread wide,
 And bade the Tired Dreamer in ecstasy rise;
 Not far, far behind him, The "Sweetwater" glides,
 And the "Gem of the Mountains"* now blesses his eyes.
 Untiring, he clambers o'er rough mountain tops,
 He must have a rich claim, or have none at all;
 All flushed with excitement, the Emigrant stops
 And locates his claim near a steep waterfall.
 He bends o'er his treasure with looks of delight,
 Each *pan* full increases his *pile* lying near;
 Unceasing he labors from morn until night,
 To obtain the rich ransom his bosom holds dear.
 The heart of the Sleeper beats high in his breast,
 He has one hundred pounds of the rich yellow ore;
 A murmur of happiness steales through his breast,
 "O God! thou has blessed me, I ask for no more."
 Ah! whence is that sight that now bursts on his eye?
 Ah! what is that sound that now larums his ear?
 'Tis the flash from the gun of the guard standing by,
 'Tis the wild shriek of "Indians! The Indians are here."
 He springs from his tent he flies to the correll,

*Indian signification of "Idaho."

Astonished he falters and cowers with fear;
 Full twenty wild Indians, like demons from hell,
 Have stampeded his stock to the Bluffs lying near.
 Like Bloodhounds the villains tremendously yell
 In vain the poor wretch tries his cattle to save;
 Unseen bands of Indians lie concealed 'ore the hill
 To rush upon whom, is to rush to the grave.
 Oh, Emigrant! Woe to thy dreams of delight,
 This Stampede has dissolved thy gay prospects of bliss;
 Where now is the gold bearing claim of the night?
 Its treasures alone can repay these for this.
 Oh, Emigrant! Emigrant! on the broad plain,
 From Home, friends, and kindred, you've wandered afar,
 Oh, turn you not back until wealth you obtain,
 Nor let Stories of "red skins" your happiness mar.
 Thy children will plead to remembrance from thee,
 To obtain gold for them, thy affections will urge;
 Let their happiness then, thy guiding Star be,
 To accomplish that end, let all efforts merge.
 Then on feather beds of ease, thy form shall be layed
 In thy bright happy home no discord shall grow;
 With thy bright yellow ore, all thy Bills shall be paid,
 And sumtously furnished thy mansion below.
 Days, weeks, months, and years, shall circle away,
 Still thy fame shall increase as thy *riches* are told;
 Life glides smoothly on to the end of thy days;
 Oh! Emigrant! Emigrant! Go for the gold!

Virginia City, Montana, Mar. 4th, 1865.

The letter needs little comment. It is only necessary to remark that Silver Bow was the placer which eventually led to the development of the great mining camp of Butte, and that the Last Chance placers shortly after became Helena, the capital of Montana.

Some idea of the hardiness and manhood of these early pioneer miners can be gleaned from the fact that Mr. Dickerson walked forty miles in a snowstorm one day, and fifty-five the next.

Virginia City, Montana
 Saturday, Mar 4th, 1865

Miss Helen M. Flood

Dear Cozen. Having nothing very pressing to do this morning, I concluded to devote a short time by chatting with you, tell you how I am etc etc.

Have just returned from a prospecting tour across the mountains over on the pacific slope of Montana's western wilds.

I started out from here 25th January, returned 28th February, was up in the Deer Lodge country at a new mining camp called "Silver Bow" I liked the country very well and think of returning as soon as weather will permit.

I received a letter while out, from Uncle McLean—in which he stated you were all well, Mary had a Baby—& Jim and Burton had gone Substitute hunting. If my memory serves me right he stated you had a Beax, blind of one eye, front teeth out, limped a little, and somewhat hard of hearing—besides other accomplishments, to dedious to mention. You will inform me in your next, if such is the case—and if there is no able bodied young men left in your country.

I believe I said in the commencement of this letter that I would tell you how I am progressing &c. Well, I feel very tired and sore yet from the big walk I took from Silver Bow. I left that point last Sunday morning at 10 o'clock on foot, with my blankets on my back, weather tremendous cold, wind blowing the snow until one could hardly keep the trail—and in order to reach a Rancho to stop over night, (the man who was in company with me) we had to make a forced march of 40 miles, through snow from 1 to 3 feet deep, arriving at the pioneers cabin a little after dark. I was so infernal tired I could hardly sleep, after settling our Bills for the night & next morning, which was only \$4.00 apiece in gold dust, we made an early start and we were fortunate enough to have a good day for traveling. But little wind or snow overhead but plenty of the last ingredient under foot in crossing range saw snow 15 feet in depth. Mondays travel was about 55 miles—we were so fatigued we put up about 10 o'clock at night, making the remainder of our journey next morning. You no doubt will ask why we did not hire our passage? Because there was nothing to hire, is my answer. I frosted my lips on the trip and they are now as thick as your finger. I think I'll quit stampeding until winter breaks. We have had cold snowy weather since 1st November and today I am housed up, the wind whistling Dixey land through every crack in my cabin. And what is more aggravating still the damed abolitionests are firing off minnet guns—and the brass band is playing Hail Columbia *divided* land in honor of Old Abe taking his royal seat again to act the tyrant over the American people for the next four years.

Our mail communication is entirely cut-off—owing to the deep snow on the road between here & Salt Lake City. Last letter I have recd from Home was from Father—dated 18th December.

I am writing this letter to drop in the office now. But the Lord only knows when it will be mailed—I am going on another prospecting tour to a new mining camp called "*Last Chance*" so soon as weather will permit.

Several new and very rich gulches have of late been discovered—"Last Chance" is 130 miles from here on the eastern slope of the mountains.

My post office address will be as formerly—Virginia City.

Write to me when ever you have the opportunity—my compliments to all enquiring friends.

T. L. DICKERSON

It is a fact, as the Dickerson letter states, that the only route out of Montana to the East at that time was by A. J. Oliver's Mail and Stage Line from Virginia City to Salt Lake. Probably it had been taken over by Ben Holladay's Overland Mail and Express Company (we do not know the exact date, but it was early in the spring of 1864). This became part of that great mail stage and freight system which he sold for a large fortune on June 1, 1866, to Wells Fargo & Co. They increased their capital from \$10,000,000.00 to \$15,000,000.00 at the time of making the purchase.

Mr. Dickerson's prediction as to delays was well founded. There is no doubt that he mailed his letter in the post office the next day, March 5, 1865, but as the postmark shows, it did not leave Virginia City until the 14th of that month. Doubtless this was because the roads were blocked by snow and no stage could get over the high divide that led to the south, and it was not until April 20 that the letter was received at Shelburn, Indiana.



CALIFORNIA LODGING-ROOM

From William Taylor's *California Life Illustrated*, New-York, 1858

THE FLEA IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY AND LITERATURE

*As Revealed by Extracts from Spanish, French, English, German
and American Sources Between the Years 1769 and 1878.*

Californiana bristles with pungent allusions to the flea, that most irritating of mammal parasites. All who have read deeply in the vast literature inspired by the exploration, settlement, and life in California have been struck by the prominence writers have given to their experiences with this insect which destroyed their slumbers and left them marked as if they were the victims of some dread disease. The assembling of references to the onslaughts of this California pest, whose invasions of privacy make up the record, was no easy task. The sources lack indices, so that it was only by patient research by members of the *Quarterly's* staff and others that even the partial bibliography here presented was gathered. It is safe to say that many more encounters with the California flea still slumber unnoticed in the thousands of volumes early visitors wrote about their California travels. It is hoped that readers will help to supplement the fragmentary list, so that some historian of the future will be able to do full justice to this subject, which was formerly of such universal interest.

Shortly after the Spanish reached San Diego in midsummer of 1769, under the leadership of Padre Junípero Serra and Don Gaspar de Portolá, the first recorded mention of the flea appears. Seeking the "famoso" Puerto de Monterey, Portolá had set forth on July 14, 1769, with his band of explorers, among whom was Padre Juan Crespi, the diarist of the expedition. How they passed by the Bay of Monterey, due to lack of recognition of landmarks, and continued northward in their search is a story familiar to all. Faithful to his task, Padre Crespi recorded each day the doings of these bewildered travelers, so that we are able to follow their footsteps after a lapse of 167 years as if their journey had been performed yesterday. Toward the end of October, 1769, the Portolá party found themselves in the vicinity of what we now know as Purisima Creek on the ocean shore of San Mateo County. Here it was that Padre Crespi initiated the history of the California flea by making the following entry in his diary:

Friday, Oct. 27, [1769] . . . After three hours' travel in which we must have advanced two leagues, we halted near the beach, on the bank of the third arroyo, where we found vestiges of a village, but, according to what we were told by four heathen from the preceding village who have accompanied us, the people of this one have moved to the mountains. I named this place Arroyo de San Ibón [now

called Purisima Creek]. All the inquisitive persons who wished to see the habitations which had been abandoned by the heathen, some few grass huts, were covered with fleas, for which reason the soldiers called it Village of Las Pulgas . . .

Seventeen years after the Portolá expedition, the Frenchman La Pérouse sailed into the Bay of Monterey on his world-wide tour of exploration. This was in September, 1786. In the last issue of the *Quarterly* there appeared a reprinting of his experiences during a visit to Monterey and the Mission of San Carlos at Carmel. La Pérouse also took notice of the California flea:

This general architecture [of the Indians' huts] of the two Californias has never undergone the smallest change, notwithstanding the exhortations of the missionaries. The Indians say that they love the open air, that it is convenient to set fire to their house when the fleas become troublesome, and that they can build another in less than two hours.

Visitors to California during the next forty years were few, but another Frenchman, Duhaut-Cilly, came in 1827-28, and among his vivid sketches of California life of that time, he took occasion to set down the following:

. . . we went hunting in San Bruno Valley, and at nightfall we reached a rancho where we found at that time a son-in-law of Don Ignacio [Martinez] with his wife and children . . . Under the favor of Mr. Richardson, their brother-in-law, I was very graciously received by the man and his wife, who offered me one of the best meals I had had for a long time. . . . The sleeping arrangements corresponded but little with the excellence of the supper, for we were compelled to stow ourselves away, guests, husband, wife and children, all together upon a great leather bed where, devoured by fleas and badly protected from the evening coolness, we passed quite an uncomfortable night.

And now we come to the American, Edwin Bryant, whose *What I Saw in California* is one of the outstanding books on California during the period of transition from Mexican sovereignty to that of the United States. The three previous mentions of the subject at hand have been restrained and casual, but Bryant launches into the matter with the fervor of a crusader:

. . . but I was not in good humor, for the fleas, bugs and other vermin, which infested our miserable lodgings, had caused me a sleepless night, by goring my body until the blood oozed from the skin in countless places. These ruinous missions are prolific generators, and the nurseries of vermin of all kinds, as the hapless traveller who tarries in them a few hours will learn to his sorrow. When these bloodthirsty assailants once make a lodgment in the

clothing or bedding of the unfortunate victim of their attacks, such are their courage and perseverance, that they never capitulate. "Blood or death" is their motto; — the war against them, to be successful, must be a war of extermination.

Bryant is not satisfied to touch upon it and pass on, but twenty pages later he enters the lists again, giving vent to his inmost feelings, and describing the effects of his encounters in bitter words and with stinging detail:

I do not like to trouble the reader with a frequent reference to the myriads of fleas and other vermin which infest the rancherias and old mission establishments in California; but if any sinning soul ever suffered the punishment of purgatory before leaving its tenement of clay, those torments were endured by myself last night. When I rose from my blankets this morning, after a sleepless night, I do not think there was an inch-square of my body that did not exhibit the inflammation consequent upon a puncture by a flea, or some equally rabid and poisonous insect. Smallpox, erysipelas, measles, and scarlet-fever combined, could not have imparted to my skin a more inflamed and sanguineous appearance. The multitudes of these insects, however, have been generated by Indian filthiness. They do not disturb the inmates of those *casas* where cleanliness prevails.

William Redmond Ryan, a member of Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers, set forth his personal adventures in California in an entertaining work in two volumes which were published in London in 1850 under the title *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California*. On page 126 of his first volume, he notes:

But our troubles had only commenced; for we soon discovered that the soil teemed with a numerous family of vermin, so anxious to be on terms of the most intimate acquaintanceship with us, that rest was impossible. Fleas of so large a growth, and of so voracious a propensity, I never wish to see, much less to feel; . . .

The New York *Tribune*, eager to spread the truth about California, was not content to give its readers second-hand news concerning the marvels of Eldorado. Instead it chose as a vehicle for their enlightenment one of America's foremost literary lights, Bayard Taylor, and dispatched him to the scene of the discovery of gold with instructions to report what he saw and to do a thorough job of it. How well Taylor succeeded! His pictures of the life and doings of the people of the then far-off land, about to become the thirty-first state of the Union, are the high point in the literature of the West of that time. His *Eldorado*, published in book form in New York in 1850, is a mine from which thousands have dug facts in the eighty-six years

since its appearance. One cannot praise it too highly, for aside from its moving descriptions of events, it has the additional merit of being the most charming and readable work in the long catalogue of Californiana. Nothing escaped Taylor's notice, not even the flea. His tale of personal experiences is almost lyrical. Let us turn now to page 136 of his first volume. The scene is Monterey, the subject of his outpourings is the ever-present California pest:

There was one subject, which at the outset occasioned us many sleepless nights. In vain did we attempt to forego the contemplation of it; as often as we lay down on our pallets, the thought would come uncalled, and very soon we were writhing under its attacks as restlessly as Richard on his ghost-haunted couch. It was no imaginary disturbance; it assailed us on all sides, and without cessation. It was an annoyance by no means peculiar to California; it haunts the temples of the Incas and the halls of the Montezumas; I have felt it come upon me in the Pantheon of Rome, and many a traveler has bewailed its visitation while sleeping in the shadow of the Pyramid. Nothing is more positively real to the feelings, nothing more elusive and intangible to the search. You look upon the point of its attack, and you see it not; you put your finger on it, and it is not there!

We tried all the means in our power to procure a good night's rest. We swept out the room, shook the blankets and tucked ourselves in so skillfully that we thought no flea could effect an entrance—but in vain. At last, after four nights of waking torment, I determined to give up the attempt; I had become so nervous by repeated failures that the thought of it alone would have prevented sleep. At bed-time, therefore, I took my blankets, and went up into the pine woods behind the town. I chose a warm corner between some bushes and a fallen log; the air was misty and chill and the moon clouded over, but I lay sheltered and comfortable on my pillow of dry sticks. Occasionally a partridge would stir in the bushes by my head or a squirrel rustle among the dead leaves, while far back in the gloomy shadows of the forest the coyotes kept up an endless howl. I slept but indifferently, for two or three fleas had escaped the blanket-shaking, and did biting enough for fifty.

After many trials, I finally nonplussed them in spite of all their cunning. There is a thick green shrub in the forest, whose powerful balsamic odor is too much for them. After sweeping the floor and sprinkling it with water, I put down my bed, previously well shaken, and surrounded it with a *chevaux-de-frise* of this shrub, wide enough to prevent their overleaping it. Thus moated and palisaded from the foe, I took my rest unbroken, to his utter discomfiture.

In 1855, at Aarau in Switzerland, there was printed Carl Meyer's story of

his visit to California under the title *Nach dem Sacramento*. A careful translation of pages 84 and 85 tells us of the author's visit to the home rancho of William E. P. Hartnell, at Aliso near Salinas, and incidentally something concerning the subject of this inquiry:

Night on a California or Mexican rancho brings something painful with it about which not a word would be said if its cause were not generally known in the country and if it were not an endemic evil. It is what one might call "flea-fever." Hardly has one gone to bed when a band of these small devilish fleas pursue their bloody maneuvers on one's sensitive skin, driving away sleep and tormenting a man to madness. One breaks out in a torturing sweat and because of the frequent throwing off of the covers one runs the risk of contracting a fever. It is impossible to rid the body entirely of these vermin during the day, so these blood-related attendants also join in the pleasant entertainment of the *Tertulia* [evening party].

"Viele Weiber, viele Flöhe,
Viele Flöhe, vieles Jucken—
Thun sie heimlich dir ein Wehe,
Darfst du dennoch dich nicht mucken."

["Many women, many fleas,
Many fleas, much itching—
They secretly cause you pain,
But you dare not complain."]

However, on the rancho one is not afraid to speak of this country-wide evil, even in mixed company, and the stranger whose skin is not yet leathery enough to withstand it is openly pitied. During a conversation, one is not afraid to make certain gestures that stimulate the skin; to refrain from so doing would be impossible. These body beasts are more effective than the quintessence of Spanish pepper.

And now an excerpt from the Journal of Charles E. De Long, taken from Vol. VIII of the *Quarterly*. Here is what an ardent politician jotted down on August 24, 1855, to remind him of his experience:

. . . took dinner with P. B. Hugg; stopped with Dick Lob—the fleas drove me out. I got up and built a fire and set up all night in the rocks.

To the reflections of La Pérouse and Duhaut-Cilly, those of another of their countrymen may be added. In Vol. VI, of the *Quarterly*, Ernest de Massey writes in his *Frenchman in the Gold Rush*:

So this was where I made my headquarters [San Francisco]. And here hundreds of white rats and millions of fleas in the sands near

my shack kept me company in my tiny box-like residence just nine meters square. Outside, the shack was made of rough boards; within it was arranged like a ship's cabin with three bunks one above the other. A box served for a seat, a plank for a table, and a hole covered with glass for a window. On the floor was a layer of fine sand—the camping-ground of a colony of fleas which hopped around looking for a chance to make a good meal off me.

Despite my caution I supplied them with sustenance all evening, though I slaughtered enough of the creatures to fill a large graveyard. And by the time I was ready to retire my legs were literally covered with these blood-thirsty insects. So throwing myself down on the highest bunk I took a small bottle of alcohol and, letting my legs dangle over the sides, I rubbed them together rapidly, put on alcohol, and so got rid of all these inconvenient parasites. This was the price of sleep. But the next day I had to repeat the same performance.

Englishmen are noted both for their veracity and their restraint, but Frank Marryat, author of that very valuable record of his experiences in California published in London in 1855 under the title *Mountains and Molehills*, makes three mentions of the California scourge:

. . . Don Raymond showed me to my quarters. . . Our host then left us, and we were immediately attacked by the fleas with a vigour that was perfectly astonishing.

In the course of my experience I have been tortured by sand-flies in the Eastern Archipelago, and have made acquaintance with every kind of mosquito, from Malta to Acapulco, including of course the famous "tiger" breed, against which there is no resource except by flight. I remember that, when sick at Hong Kong, I was crammed into the cabin of an old store-ship so full of cockroaches, and these so ravenous, that they kept my toenails quite close every night, and would even try the flavour of the top of my head, and, when they found that to be all bone, they eat my hair and whiskers, the last circumstance being very annoying, from the fact that whiskers were scarce with me in those days; but I would have preferred any of these annoyances to the attack of those Santa Rosa fleas. On lighting a candle we found the place alive with them; unlike, both in appearance and manner, the modest flea of ordinary life, that seeks concealment as soon as by accident it is unearthed, these insects, reared in the rough school of wild bullock's hide, boldly faced as they attacked us. We discovered the next day that the room, the floor and walls of which were of earth, had contained hides, and had been cleared out for the purpose of our accommodation.

But, as a general rule, the California houses are alive with fleas, they thrive in the cracks of the mud-brick walls and in the hides with which these places are always strewed. No pains are taken to eject them, and Don Raymond remarked, on our mentioning the fact, that we should get used to them; he and his family never gave the little "malditos" a thought.

. . . Fleas not only abound in the skins of every beast you kill, but even live on the ground, like little herds of wild cattle.

Fleas are very prevalent in the southern mines, and my first introduction to the species was in this wise. The colonel turned suddenly to me, his hands being occupied with his ribbons, with "I guess there's a flea on my neck"; and I perceived on the instant that there was a large, broad-shouldered insect, refreshing himself on the place indicated, in apparent oblivion of all around. As in duty bound as box seat, I pulled him off and put him to death, the colonel remarking as he nodded his thanks, that he generally had three or four of the "darned cattle put through" in that fashion during the journey.

We have seen what De Long, the politician, had to say. Let us turn to a preacher of the Gospel. William Taylor, street preacher and author, found time from his ministrations to write two books for us. From his *California Life Illustrated*, both his graphic portrayals by pen and by pencil are reproduced:

By way of variety, the adventurous lodgers in those pioneer hotels were frequently visited by the third plague of Egypt, accompanied by a lilliputian host of the flea tribe, whose stimulating influence upon their subjects is represented in the accompanying cut. Any man who is not proof against fleas, or who cannot affect a good insurance on his skin, had better keep away from old Spanish towns and Indian villages.

Frank M. Pixley stirred the very souls of San Franciscans with his *Argonaut*. His type of journalism was both fearless and trenchant, but there is little doubt that he published the best weekly ever to be read by residents of the western metropolis. In its issue of December 7, 1878, there appeared a tale pertinent to the subject under discussion with the title, "The Flea—A Short Discourse on a Lively Subject." This short story is here reproduced in a somewhat shortened form, and it will serve to write *finis* to what men of many nations have had to say about the insect, now rarely encountered, which was once the diverting theme upon which travelers to California felt duty-bound to dwell:

I have reflected profoundly, and I venture to say painfully, on the flea. I had made his acquaintance in solitary specimens in other countries, but had never met him where he came down in "cohorts, like the wolf on the fold," until I sojourned on the Presidio, in '53. The ground was covered with chaparral, and that swarmed with gray rabbits and wood rats, and they swarmed with fleas, and by the distribution of these fleas they in some measure avenged the slaughter that thinned their ranks. So, becoming disgusted with the Presidio in those ancient days on account of the vigor of its insect population, and having been attracted by the beauty of the country about the Rancho de las Pulgas, also slightly pleased with the euphony of its name, of the significance of which I was profoundly unaware, I bought a squatter's claim to some land that lay on the edge of the marsh where is now Redwood City. This land was so hard that the progeny of potatoes dropped in the furrows in the spring grew into the shape of buckwheat pancakes, as we discovered when we turned over the clods in the fall with a crowbar. I felt happy in the thought that soil on which a steel-pointed crowbar would make no impression in the dry season would be impervious to all the flea tribe.

Near to this hard ranch was the ranch and cabin of a good-natured, slow-talking New Englander. Having occasion to see this worthy, I betook myself to his abode. The luxuries of life were not overabundant, and I noticed a stick ladder, leading to a bunk as near the peak of the roof as could be and allow the passage of man into this queer roosting place. I ruminated somewhat on the significance of such a bed, and was suddenly enlightened by five simultaneous and distinct bites, and looking down, saw the white stockings that I wore with low shoes had the appearance of being sprinkled with pepper in motion. To say that I got out of doors in a hurry mildly expresses the truth; and the rest of my visit was spent perched on the top of the highest fence, while I discoursed with my friend—who, by the way, bore the name of S. Marble Stone, a flea-proof name one would think. On observing to him, between slaps, jerks, and squirms, that his fleas seemed to be hungry and lively, he answered, winking, slowly: "Wal, yaas, I guess they hev fared pooty slim for a week or two. I rayther come it on 'em in gettin' my bunk up in the peak. I jes' slide out'n every dern rag, 'n then shin up that ladder, and leave 'em howlin' round my old pants. Yaas!"

By this time I was howling myself. I made a bee-line for a bunch of brush on the bank of the creek, and imitated friend Stone as to the disrobing process. When I was rid of my clothes, I imitated the Celestials of Washerwoman's Bay and turning my clothes inside

out, walloped them round a tree trunk with the greatest zeal.

That same afternoon I learned that Rancho de las Pulgas signified "The farm of the fleas"!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARGONAUT, San Francisco, December 7, 1878.
- BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE. Fray Juan Crespi. Berkeley, 1927. pp. 222-23.
- BRYANT, EDWIN. What I saw in California. London, 1849. pp. 276, 297.
- DE LONG, CHARLES E. "California's Bantam Cock." The journals of Charles E. De Long, 1854-1863. Edited, with an introduction, by Carl. I. Wheat. California Historical Society *Quarterly*, VIII, 343.
- DUHAUT-CILLY, AUGUST BERNARD. Duhaut-Cilly's account of California in the years 1827-28. Translated from the French by Charles Franklin Carter. *Quarterly*, VIII, 235.
- LA PÉROUSE, JEAN FRANÇOIS GALAUP DE. A voyage round the world. London, 1799. Vol. I, p. 447.
- MARRYAT, FRANK. Mountains and molehills. London, 1855. pp. 62-64, 137, 259-60.
- MASSEY, ERNEST DE. A Frenchman in the Gold Rush. Translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur from the journal of Ernest de Massey. *Quarterly*, VI, 37.
- MEYER, CARL. Nach dem Sacramento. Aarau, 1855. pp. 84-85.
- RYAN, WILLIAM REDMOND. Personal adventures in Upper and Lower California. London, 1850. Vol. I, p. 126.
- TAYLOR, BAYARD. Eldorado. New York, 1850. Vol. I, pp. 136-137.
- TAYLOR, WILLIAM. California life illustrated. New York, 1858. p. 167.

THE SURRENDER OF MONTEREY BY GOVERNOR NICOLAS GUTIERREZ NOVEMBER 5, 1836

An Account from Unpublished Correspondence

By GEORGE TAYS

THE DEPARTURE of Governor Mariano Chico from Monterey on August 1, 1836, left Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez once again as acting governor and military commander, by virtue of his seniority in rank and Chico's designation.

The new Governor was left in a very difficult position, due to the ill feeling that Governor Chico had aroused against himself and his officers in California. Therefore, when Gutierrez returned to Monterey from southern California on September 6, he still found considerable resentment existing, and he soon learned that no matter what he tried to do, the politicians were not pleased and refused to co-operate with him. If he tried to carry out Chico's policies they were against him; and if he leaned over backwards trying to please them, the Californians accused him of being two-faced and of currying their favor. They also considered him a Spaniard still loyal to Spain, and a centralist tool of the Mexican Government. Thus it is not hard to see that some of the Californians were doing their best to pick a quarrel with him in order to get rid of him. In this connection Bancroft has the following to say:

The truth is, that Gutierrez, a Spaniard by birth though serving on the insurgent side during the revolution, was an inoffensive, easy-going, unpretentious, and not unpopular man. He was a faithful officer, of moderate ability, and of not very strict morals. He was neither dishonest, arrogant, nor arbitrary in his conduct. As a Mexican officer he was loyal to his national allegiance; he had no right according to the laws and his predecessor's instructions to turn over the civil command to the diputacion; and as a Spaniard he had to be somewhat more cautious respecting his conduct than if he had been born in Mexico. Gutierrez as remembered by the Californians was of medium height, rather stout, of light complexion, reddish hair, beard slightly sprinkled with gray, and with a cast in the right eye which caused him to be nicknamed *El Tuerto*. He came to Mexico as a boy, and his first service was as a drummer. . . . He had served with Figueroa, was his intimate friend, and came to California with him in January, 1833, as captain. . . .

Neither his character, acts, nor policy had much influence in exciting the opposition that resulted in his overthrow. Pretence for a quarrel with him was sought by certain persons, was of course not difficult to find, and would have been found had the difficulty been much greater.¹

Soon after Gutierrez returned to Monterey, Rafael Gomez expressed the fear that the Governor intended to carry on Chico's arbitrary measures that

had caused the latter's departure. Father Abella also complained that Gutierrez was interfering with mission affairs just to cause the friars annoyance.² Then the members of the Assembly called on the Governor, to request that he surrender the civil authority to their senior member. This Gutierrez refused to do, stating that he had no authority to do so.

On finding himself thus harassed, Gutierrez decided to do as little as possible along governmental lines, and in October he summoned Captain Pablo de la Portilla to Monterey so that he might turn over the command to him. Writing to Don José Antonio Estudillo on October 7, he said:

I have summoned Don Pablo de la Portilla to give up to him the civil and military commands, because I observe it is not pleasing to some persons that I should retain them. I do so gladly, since I have no other aspiration than to separate myself from public affairs and to live in peace and quiet.³

This opposition to Gutierrez was carried on by only a comparatively small number of people, but the leaders of these few included some of the most influential persons in Monterey and other parts of the territory. Among them were Juan Bautista Alvarado and José Castro, president and senior member respectively of the Territorial Assembly, lawyer Cosme Peña, counselor of the District Court, and Angel Ramirez, former friar and administrator of the custom house. The last two were Mexican officials and the chief instigators of the opposition to Gutierrez. Working with these Californians were several of the foreign merchants and settlers, such as Captain William S. Hinckley, J. B. R. Cooper, Isaac Graham, and others who were anxious to create a sentiment for independence in the territory, in the hope that they might make a second Texas out of California.

The causes for this unrest were, of course, more profound than just mere animosity for Chico or Gutierrez. The feeling had been growing for years that California was neglected and wronged by Mexico. The people, though theoretically enthusiastic republicans, became indignant after waiting in vain for the benefits which they hoped to gain from republicanism. The influence the missionaries exerted against Mexico had its effect on the Californians. The importation of convict soldiers from Mexico also intensified provincial prejudices. Furthermore, the Californians regarded themselves as superior in blood and morals to the people from the interior of Mexico. The sending of inferior Mexican officers, instead of promoting the veteran Californians, also created bitterness. Harsh Mexican revenue laws that hindered the commercial development of this territory, and the assignment of Mexican officials to manage the revenues, only added fuel to the flames of discontent. Foreigners, with special interests but sound arguments, did their best to prove to the natives that California had received nothing but neglect and ill-treatment from Mexico. Finally, there were numerous personal interests and ambitions fostered by prominent Californians that became deciding factors.

All these reasons, and perhaps many more, finally resulted in a strong

popular feeling, that by 1836 amounted to hatred for Mexicans from the interior. The Californians came to believe that rulers and laws made with no reference to the needs of the country were all that Mexico could furnish them. They had no definite desires for independence as yet, but they did believe that their interests would be better served if native sons were placed in positions of authority, and especially as governors. Contact with foreigners had given them some liberal ideas, and some of them became convinced that Mexican ways of doing things were not always the best. They wished to gain control of their country, and their success in deporting Governors Victoria and Chico had taught them that they had little to fear in the form of punishment from the Mexican Government. The change to centralism in Mexico was the last straw, and it made the Californians feel that they alone stood as the champions of a democracy which they wished to save. Therefore, their difficulties with Gutierrez served them only as an excuse and were of little importance in fact.

For weeks before the actual outbreak, Gutierrez had knowledge of the plotting that was being carried on by Alvarado, Castro, Peña, Ramirez, and others. In a subsequent report to Mexico, he said that he knew what was going on but was helpless to prevent it, because, like Governor Chico before him, he did not have the necessary physical force at his command to prevent it. Therefore, he had to stand by, helpless as a man chained in the path of stampeding cattle, waiting anxiously, knowing that the onslaught was coming, but unable to prevent it. Finally, when the plotters had perfected their plans, late in October, Alvarado and Ramirez picked a quarrel with Governor Gutierrez over certain customhouse guards. Castro was sent out into the country to recruit men, while Alvarado went to Sonoma to enlist the services of his young uncle, Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. After considering the proposition, Vallejo, seeing little to gain, refused to take part, and Alvarado, much discouraged, began his return to Monterey. On the way back, he was joined by Castro at San José, and by the time they arrived at Salinas they had over one hundred men, including a number of foreigners, in their army. These they had recruited by making them believe that Vallejo was to be the commander-in-chief of the rebel army.

This small rebel force reached Monterey on the night of November 3, and soon deployed on points of vantage commanding the Presidio. The next day, Castro, acting as commander of the field forces, sent a demand to Gutierrez for the surrender of the post. The negotiations that followed are best told by the documents themselves, which are here presented.

Several days after the insurgents took possession of Monterey, Don Juan B. Alvarado wrote a confidential letter to his uncle, Don Mariano G. Vallejo, giving him an account of their activities since his visit to Sonoma. Part of this letter has been quoted by Bancroft, but it is given here in full in order to tell the rebel side of the story.

Monterey, November 7, 1836.

Don Mariano G. Vallejo.

My dear uncle and friend:

When I left you at Napa my patriotic sentiments and my personal situation encouraged me most fervidly to do some good for my country. I returned with the feeling of not having been able to obtain your company in attaining an object of public beneficence and I was greatly troubled. In the town of San José Guadalupe I met Castro, Buelna, and Noriega and we agreed to start an insurrection. We formed our plan and set out for Monterey with thirteen men. Very soon we perceived the enthusiasm of the people in defence of a just cause. Along the highways they aided us with arms and supplies. Finally we arrived at Monterey with an hundred and some men. This place was garrisoned by more than fifty men which were to be found within the post. On the night of our arrival we passed through the town with some stealth and took the castle and the eminence near the Linares house so that the post was commanded. With the aid of the people, of the merchants, and of the vessels (with the exception of that of Don Federico Becher) we armed ourselves sufficiently and we sent a flag of truce to Gutierrez with a demand that he surrender the post unconditionally. In it were to be found all the officers, including Portilla who had recently arrived and a multitude of convicts from the jail whom Gutierrez had armed.⁴

Having delayed his reply we fired a cannon-shot from the fort and the ball was so well aimed that we put it into the main entrance to the Commander's headquarters while the officers were conversing in the court. Such was their fright that it is said that they were not seen again for an hour. Then Gutierrez replied, but stated that he was opposed and would not surrender. Such was the anger of the Division that everybody dismounted, arms in hand, to attack him, for we had a company of twenty-five riflemen. When the movement was observed from the post, he sent a message to stop it and requesting that we should not attack. A few minutes later Gutierrez sent a communication offering to surrender on condition that we would give guaranties to the persons in his party, without preventing those who wished to follow him from so doing. We accepted the terms and entered Monterey in the most admirable order and condition. The infantry marched to the beat of Mr. Hinckley's music, and the cavalry with its trumpet. The officers retired from the post, except the one who remained in the place to deliver the stronghold.

We had named the expedition in this way, "Vanguard of the Division of Operations," giving assurances that you were bringing up the rear with the rest of the forces and that you were the commander of the army. It was necessary for us to employ this ruse because only with that hope would a multitude of people join us resolved to die. But we would say that you were being delayed because your troops were in campaign and that you had sent word to us that we were to attack Monterey.

Up to now the inhabitants are still to be found awaiting your arrival, and upon it rests whether we can attain with great honor an enterprise that is praised on all sides, even by Gutierrez himself and the officers, all of whom, with the exception of Valle and Zamorano, we have embarked today aboard the *Clementine* bound for Cape San Lucas, also Herrera, Don Luis Castillero, a few soldiers and some of the worst convicts. The attached act and the proclamation will show you what is the object of the insurrection of which we have stated that you are the principal insurgent although your signature is not in evidence.

On your coming depends the happiness of the country and you should not excuse yourself on account of any sacrifice that matters. Everybody awaits you as the man who must bring about his country's good. There are no forces in the Territory to resist us; on the contrary they are waiting to join us. This very day Buelna and Villa set out

for Santa Barbara to receive the oath to the new government of California. The federalists win in Mexico and we shall remain, if fate be propitious, erected into a free and sovereign state.

The officers and Gutierrez, ashamed of having committed wrongs, and on seeing liberty shine with honor, wept bitterly over their fate. Señor Gutierrez confessing that he had committed faults, sent a letter before he went aboard, giving satisfaction and saying that he regretted very much to leave a country where he had intended to live forever together with the Californians.

It is wonderful, Uncle, with what order our expedition has been conducted, since the moment in which we came in sight of Monterey.

The families requested that on arriving to receive the post we should enter through the town where the streets had been ordered swept.

Everybody has joined us in the expedition and cries "Vivas," shouting "California is free!"

I wish that you were an eyewitness so that you would rejoice to see our good fortune happy and free.

Salute Ortega for me. Castro says that you should not be an ingrate, that he cannot tell you more than that you consider this letter as coming from him.

The lack of time and affairs do not allow me to write at length.

Consider me yours, and regards to the family.

JUAN BAUTISTA ALVARADO ⁵

The actual negotiations and capitulations were not quite so simple as Alvarado makes them appear, and gave rise to considerable correspondence between Castro and Gutierrez that covered a period of several days.⁶

By the first of November, Governor Gutierrez had heard rumors and received several warnings that the rebel forces were assembling in the neighborhood of the capital. Therefore, the next day, November 2, he wrote a note to the port captain, Don Juan Malarin, requesting the latter's co-operation and that of the captains of the Mexican vessels anchored in the port, saying:

Commandancy General of Alta California:

No. 8

The public peace of this port being menaced, and the government being pledged to conserve it, I expect you to warn the captains of the national vessels that are anchored in the Bay, that whenever they see that the post is attacked by the enemies of the public order, they will aid it with whatever armed forces they have available, in order to leave the honor of the national arms well established.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 2, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ ⁷

Captain of the Port,
Don Juan Malarin.

To this appeal the captains concerned made no written reply; presumably their silence gave consent, and Governor Gutierrez was expecting their aid, when, on the night of November 3, the rebels entered the town and proceeded to establish themselves in advantageous positions during the hours of darkness. Early in the morning of November 4, José Castro sent the Governor a copy of the rebel plan, or declaration of policy. It read:

Vanguard of the Division of Operations: No. 3

For the sake of the public welfare, and with the object of avoiding all bloodshed between the division under my command and the garrison of the post which you are defending; I hope that being convinced of its justice, and for the love of the country in which we live, you will see fit to surrender the post under your command, because all the Territory of Alta California so demands it with just cause, constraining yourself to observe the Basis of the Plan which I copy to the letter.

- 1. The Territory of Alta California is an integral part of the Mexican Republic.
 - 2. The same Territory shall be governed by natives of their country.
 - 3. No Mexican ruler shall be permitted.
 - 4. The Most Excellent Assembly shall issue special laws while the present civil war in Mexico continues.
 - 5. With that understanding, you must separate both commands, surrendering them to the Most Excellent Assembly, which is the one that at present finds itself convened in my Division, the same one that has declared itself for the preceding laws with the support of the towns which up to date have sworn to uphold them.
- God and Liberty. Monterey, November 4, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO⁸

Upon receiving Castro's demand for surrender, Gutierrez called upon Captain Juan Antonio Muñoz, of the artillery corps, who was the post commander, for a report on the strength of his command. Captain Muñoz gave the Governor the following table of the numerical strength of each service branch:

POST HEADQUARTERS No. 2

Statement of the forces at the said post; with a statement concerning its armament.

	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Sergeants	Drummers	Buglers	Corporals	Soldiers	Totals	Rifles	Carbines	Leather Straps
Artillery.....	1			1	2	2	12	17	15		1	16
Infantry.....			1		6	2	11	19	14			14
Cavalry.....	1	1	2	1	2	2	14	19			15	15
Total Force.....	2	1	3	2	10	6	37	55	29	16	45	

NOTE:
The six recruits of the San Francisco Company, which are to be found attached to the Monterey Company, are not included in the column of total force, because they have no arms and also because they are incapable of rendering any service.

Monterey, November 4, 1836.

JUAN ANTONIO MUÑOZ⁹

Approved
GUTIERREZ

This table shows at a glance that Gutierrez had only thirty-seven soldiers of all branches of the service, with scarcely enough arms to go around, and that there were no convicts, as Alvarado had claimed in his letter.

While Captain Muñoz was preparing the report, Governor Gutierrez called his six officers together at his headquarters, to prepare an answer to Castro's demand for surrender. During the time that the conference was in progress, Castro's men became impatient at waiting and became unruly. Finding a cannon-ball in the old castillo, or fort, they fitted it to one of the old guns and fired at the Presidio. This was the ball that landed at the entrance to Gutierrez' headquarters. When Castro was finally able to control his men once more, he immediately sent this note to Gutierrez:

Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 4

The Division which I have under my command, wishes to know your answer forthwith, because in case of a contrary reply, it is determined to fight.

The cannon shot that has just been fired, has been against my orders.

God and Liberty. November 4, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO¹⁰

Gutierrez and his officers continued to deliberate all morning and part of the afternoon. About midafternoon, Castro again sent the Governor a note, demanding that he should speed up his decision and reply:

Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 5

It being impossible for me to control the Division under my command, because it is resolved to die or to conquer this same afternoon; with that understanding, you will please reply within an hour, because if it is to the contrary we shall open fire.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 4, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO¹¹

To satisfy Castro to some extent, Gutierrez then sent a note in reply to the two preceding ones:

Commandancy General of Alta California.

No. 6

Since the communication which you have addressed to me is of considerable importance, I have not wished to answer it by myself, but by a decision of a council of war. This has taken place and the reply is being composed. Should this not be sufficient, and if you find it impossible to control your followers, you may open fire when you wish, with the satisfaction that you will find someone to resist you.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 4, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ¹²

When Gutierrez received Castro's demand for the surrender of the Presidio, he immediately called a council of war, composed of his officers, to consider a reply. After several hours of deliberation, during which they were interrupted by the cannon-shot from the rebel forces at the fort and Castro's two notes, they finally finished their discussion and began to frame a reply. In this long and detailed answer, Gutierrez pointed out to Castro the absurd and contradictory nature of his plan and arguments declaring California a free and sovereign state:

Commandancy General of Alta California.

No. 7

Having received on this day your communication in which you ask me to surrender the Post under my command, because the Territory of Alta California so demands it with just cause, and in which you enclose the plan of insurrection which you have adopted in company with those who follow you; I have convened a Council of War, to meet with some employees, and other persons in the confidence of the Government because of their knowledge and evident loyalty. The aforesaid communication from you and the four propositions of your plan, have been read at this assembly. And in the discussion, it has been borne in mind that you and your followers make use of the right of petition in an illegal manner; because you present yourselves before us in a mob, with arms in hand and with a threatening air, which appearances give your actions the character of a true insurrection, condemned not only by our laws and those of all cultured peoples, but by even the principles of sound reason, because it is a direct infraction of the law, the germ of unfortunate calamities, and such an imprudent step that it is unbelievable that it would be taken by persons that claim to be animated by the good of their country, the future destiny of which they compromise beyond measure. And thus I must inform you that neither the Council nor I believe that the Territory has any interests whatever in upholding such an unheard of aberration of ideas.

In regard to the articles of the plan, in accord with the aforementioned Council I say to you that we agree, in that the Territory of Alta California is an integral part of the Mexican Republic.

With respect to the second article, in which you and yours, without authority or commission whatever, declare that only the sons of California shall obtain the public offices of the same; the Council remarks with me, that this article is in contradiction with the first; that it is illegal because it is not based on any law and it is opposed to the general welfare of the Republic and the spirit of its legislation both ancient as well as modern, and the eternal principles of universal justice, and is contrary to the fundamental pact of Society; because the natives of California are not excluded in the rest of the Republic in the choice for public offices in the other Departments, it is most unjust to exclude the Mexicans from them in this territory, because in all society the privileges and rights of the citizens are reciprocal, and constitute what is in truth the equality before the fundamental Constitutional law which you attack without stating it in that article.

With respect to article 3, the points that I have just made upon no. 2 are applicable, but furthermore the Council adds with me: that this article tends toward an absolute independence, because not only does it usurp the legislative powers of the National Congress in which California has its voting Deputy, but it disavows the Supreme Authority of the National Government, denying the admission of the magistrates whom, making use of its supreme powers, it might send to the Territory, and consequently that means denying it the obedience which we all owe it; that means the incurring of perjury and of treason and the sowing of ills of great proportions in the future.

And in regard to what you and your followers say in the 4th article, that the Most Excellent Assembly will pass laws for the country using its sovereign power; since it is inferred in the same act in which you give it the legislative authority; in accord with the Council I say to you, that it is another rude blow that is dealt to the Sovereign Congress, to the Supreme Government and to the legislation that rules us, in which you become liable inadvertently without reckoning the pernicious principle which you embrace. The same thing is true in supposing that the Most Excellent Assembly exists legally convened outside the period of its regular sessions and without being convoked by the competent Authority. And it is very strange that without previous petition,

either verbal or written, nor the least courteous and polite complaint to the civil government which I legally exercise, the Deputies should be present in the ranks of the heedless, pretending to uphold by force of arms principles contrary to their obligations and to their oaths, disturbing the public peace and making themselves responsible before God and the law for the blood that may be shed, and to the transgressions that your most mistaken as well as unfortunate conduct may produce against the public welfare which is entrusted to you.

In view of these considerations you will understand that, in accord with the Council, I am not in the mood to divide the commands nor deliver them to the Most Excellent Assembly, even though it were legally convened, because, as a faithful observer of the laws which I have sworn to uphold, and whose execution has been entrusted to me as ad interim Civil Magistrate and Commandant General, I am unable to deliver the military command to a non-military body, but only to the commander designated by Regulations, nor separate the civil from the military because it is especially prohibited to me by the laws of June 23, 1813, and the recent and final one of January 21, 1835. And here the Council points out along with me the inconsistency into which you fall, because, being convinced by the force of these reasons at the beginning of the present year, you legally and with pleasure, so you stated, ceded the civil command to the same person whom you now forcefully wish to deprive of it. I said then, and I repeat it now, that I discharge this office with reluctance, and that I would resign it this very day, and I would place it in conformity to regulations and the law, in the hands of Captain Pablo de la Portilla, whom I have summoned since September with this object in view, if your presence and that of your hostile article, the military point of honor, the dignity and decorum of the Supreme Government and the integrity of the Mexican Republic did not strongly prevent me from doing so.

Another inconsistency into which the Deputies who follow you fall is that, having a recent petition before the Sovereign Congress so that this Most Excellent Assembly may be granted some of the legislative powers in agreement with the welfare of the country, you and yours should want to take them before they are conceded to you, diminishing your reputation among the sensible people by such an action as that to which your heedlessness gives rise.

Finally, having heard the Council and having consulted the Illustrious Ayuntamiento and the patriotic votes of my resolute soldiers, we have resolved to shed even the last drop of blood and lose life itself, not in defence of my person, nor to uphold a command which I do not relish, and which I shall resign whenever circumstances may befriended me, but rather to uphold my obligations, to comply with the laws, and to conserve the National decorum unharmed and spotless, and without impairment whatever to the integrity of the Republic.

If you wish to avoid the shedding of blood, if you are true and enlightened friends of your country, and obedient subjects of the law, and enemies of anarchy, and of the disorders which it brings with it, I, in agreement with the Council and the Illustrious Ayuntamiento of this Port, invite you in the name of the Fatherland, of the law and of Justice, and with the genuine cordiality of a man who sympathizes and desires to remedy the aberrations of the ideas of his fellow-citizens, invite you as I say, so that the Deputies may present themselves at a spot that the Illustrious Ayuntamiento shall designate, and which shall be outside this post, to hold a friendly conference with an equal number of persons appointed by this Government, and with the attendance of the Alcaldes and the Illustrious Ayuntamiento of this Port as mediators, you being pleased to name the hour and place in which in accord with this Ayuntamiento the stated conference may be held. In the meantime I shall pledge myself not to attack them and to allow them full liberty to confer, and to lay before me, through the

medium of the aforesaid Ayuntamiento, the propositions upon which they have agreed, the which I shall gladly approve, if in saving bloodshed I may also save the National decorum and integrity and the original obligations of my offices. I must warn you, however, that in the meantime, while I am deciding the matters relative to the object that I have indicated, you will cause the company under your command to observe all the formalities of a battle-field: at the same time assembling your force at a central location or a meeting place, and also keeping good order and discipline: a thing that shall be strictly observed by the troops under my command.

Finally I send you this answer by a committee from the Illustrious Ayuntamiento and minus the formalities of war, to show even by this act my friendship, and adherence to peace.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 4, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ 13

Señor Don José Castro.

By this answer, sent in the middle of the afternoon on November 4, Governor Gutierrez left Castro absolutely bereft of arguments with which to counter. Point by point, the logic of the Governor's contentions was absolutely irrefutable. Nor did Castro attempt to make any reply.

Thus did the rest of the afternoon pass away. Darkness fell, and the beleaguered forces in the Presidio made preparations to withstand another night of siege. As the evening progressed, however, Governor Gutierrez began to hear rumors that some of his troops were deserting their posts and going over to the enemy, or else falling asleep from exhaustion. Thereupon, at nine o'clock that night he called a meeting of his staff in a council of war, and asked each individual commander of the different arms of the service for a report on his men and the spot they were defending:

At the Port of Monterey, at nine o'clock on the night of November 4, 1836.

Assembled at the residence of the Commandant General and ad interim Civil Governor, Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez: Said gentleman, the Captains Don Pablo de la Portilla, and Don Juan Antonio Muñoz; he of the same rank, the retired Don Andrés Castillero; Sub-Lieutenant Don Patricio Estrada, Lieutenant Don Bernardo Navarrete; the Ensigns Don José María Ramirez, and Don Ygnacio del Valle; Surgeon Don Manuel de Alba; Bleeder Don Manuel Crespo; the District Judge, Lawyer Don Luis del Castillo Negrete; the scribes of the Civil Secretariate, Don Manuel Gonzalez and Don Mariano Bonilla; the teacher of the Normal School, Don Mariano Romero; and the undersigned Secretary of the Commandancy General, Captain Don Agustin V. Zamorano; the Commandant General said: that the object of the meeting was for the purpose of hearing the reports of the Troop Commanders, concerning the point which each defended. At which Captain Muñoz, Post Commander, took the floor and reported that this same night, according to reliable news which he had received, a large number of foreigners, especially Anglo-Americans, in company with the crews of the bark *Don Quixote*, the frigates *Caroline*, and *Europa*, and the English schooner *Clementine*, were to lower two pieces of artillery from the Fort, and were to place them at the houses of Pacheco and Ábrego, in order to demolish the Presidio where we were, which building for the most part is on the point of going to ruin, and has many unprotected spots for lack of walls.

Next to report was the Cavalry Commander, Lieutenant Navarrete, who stated that at sunset and during the night eighteen soldiers of his company had deserted; and

Captain Muñoz again informed us that he had just received word that the nine convicts who had served their time, and who had voluntarily lent their services as auxiliary troops, and an artillery drummer had deserted with their arms from the point which they covered; and Sub-Lieutenant Estrada also reported that an infantryman had deserted.

Following this, the Commandant General pointed out that although he considered that the existing force was sufficient to take the two groups of adversaries by surprise, he understood from the observations that had previously been made to him, that it might not be surprising that when we returned to our posts we would find ourselves attacked from the rear, due to the negligible force that must now remain in the post that we are defending. Captain Muñoz said that the artillerymen under his command had pointed out to him that they were aware that the garrison could not resist the attack, and that they were inclined to favor the evacuation of the post, provided that the Commanders and officers and they themselves should be offered guaranties against any harm to their persons and properties, and that in that event they would go to wherever their General might lead them; and he added that the infantry had retired from its post saying that they were worn out with fatigue; that they considered themselves lost and without a single hope of aid, for which reason they stacked their arms, but nevertheless Captain Muñoz was able to persuade them to cover the post that they have been holding, while the negotiations are being completed.

After having discussed this, and having seen the feeble means of defence upon which we counted and the superiority of the rebels in all arms, it was decided to seek for a compromise in order to conserve the military discipline and the public order by proposing to said rebels that the post should be evacuated, so that they might occupy it peacefully if they would guarantee the lives and property of the officers and troops and National employees; the General promising not to entitle himself Commandant General and Civil Governor in the future, if the leader of the insurgents promises to give orders to his followers so that those who capitulate may be respected, so that they may not be insulted; all of which was carried out, and an official note was forwarded to said leader Don José Castro. He then answered by a verbal message that he agreed to everything, providing that the troops should surrender their arms, and that on the following morning, he would reply in writing. Many comments were made concerning this surrender of arms, and it was finally decided that there was no alternative but to accede to this condition, considering that the post numbered only thirty-five men, worn out with fatigue, minus their pay, and discouraged, and in a spot of very poor and scattered defense, dominated by the fire of the enemy artillery, at the same time that the insurgents were occupying an advantageous site, counting on the aid of almost all the population and a force estimated at two hundred men, the major part of them foreigners, particularly Anglo-Americans, for which reason a verbal message was sent to that chief that we acceded to his demand, the troops going out under arms up to the Artillery Barracks where they would leave them so that the rebels might recover them, to which they agreed. With this the act was concluded, all those present agreeing, and that a certified copy should be given to each one of those present by the undersigned Secretary and initialed by the General, for their own safeguard, with which the act was closed; and it was set down on common paper because there was none of the sealed kind.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ
 JOSÉ MARÍA RAMIREZ
 MANUEL DE ALBA
 MANUEL MARÍA GONZALEZ
 YGNACIO DEL VALLE
 MANUEL CRESPO

PABLO DE LA PORTILLA
 JUAN ANTONIO MUÑOZ
 LIC'O. LUIS CASTILLO NEGRETE
 MARIANO ROMERO

AGUSTIN V. ZAMORANO, Secretary
 Approved, GUTIERREZ ¹⁴

Immediately after the Council had granted its approval for a capitulation, Governor Gutierrez wrote Castro as follows:

Commandancy General of Alta California

No. 10

If you as the chief of the insurgents will guarantee the personal safety and the properties of my officers, troops, and myself, and those of the national officials, I shall at once agree to evacuate this post as soon as that guarantee is given, and to retire along with those who voluntarily wish to follow me, promising not to attack any one and not to entitle myself Commandant General and Civil Governor of Alta California.

This is all I can do for the sake of peace and without compromising the national decorum, concerning which I await your reply if it is in the affirmative, in order to allow you to occupy this post, hoping that you will dictate strict measures so that none of my men shall be insulted and that we may be respected with the dignity proper to free men.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 4, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ ¹⁵

Don José Castro.

It must have been sometime after 11 P.M. on November 4, when Castro received the offer of capitulation from Gutierrez. He sent a verbal acceptance and promised to send a written reply in the morning. Early on the 5th, he sent the following:

Headquarters of the Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 11

I have just received an official note from you which has been delivered to me by Ensign Don Joaquin del Valle, by which you agree to evacuate the post under your command, leaving it at my disposal; requesting in it guaranties that will safeguard the persons and properties of those who have been in your company or who may wish to follow you, except for the surrender of arms that should be made by the troops under your command.

You may be satisfied that I accept the conditions which you propose to me with the understanding that you will assure me that in the present affair you will take no further part, either active or passive, and on this basis; on the morrow at eight o'clock I shall enter this post with the Division which I command.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 5, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO ¹⁶

Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

Promptly at 8 A.M. on November 5, Governor Gutierrez, his officers, and the few men who had not deserted marched out of the Presidio under arms as far as the artillery barracks, where they stacked arms and dispersed. Two junior officers were left in the Presidio to deliver the post to the insurgents. The rebels at the same time marched in from the Fort, and other points, led by Castro and the band from Captain William S. Hinckley's ship *Don Quixote*. They lined up in company front while the Government troops stacked their arms; then they marched into the Presidio. Mexican rule in California had ended temporarily. Following the capitulation, Governor Gutierrez and his officers went to their homes to await further developments.

Nor had they long to wait, because the next day Gutierrez received the following note from Castro:

Headquarters of the Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 12

In order to protect your person I see myself forced to tell you that you must get ready to leave this Territory aboard the English brig *Clementine*, in which you must embark this very day.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 6, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO¹⁷

Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

The Governor evidently got in touch with his followers, who wanted to be sure where they were going before following him. Therefore, Gutierrez made the following enquiry from Castro:

No. 13

Since among the conditions which I proposed to you, concerning the evacuation of the post which was then under my command, one of them was that those who wished to follow me because they did not wish to stay in the Territory, should not be prevented from so doing; and they being in some doubt as to whether my destination is to be the Republic of Mexico or some other place, I beg you, that you will please make me some statement upon that point, and I shall then be able to send you the list of the individuals who either alone or with their families may wish to share the fate that has been determined for me.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 6, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ¹⁸

Don José Castro.

Later on the same day, Castro replied as follows to the preceding note:

Headquarters of the Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 14

To your official note of this date in which you ask me to outline the route to be followed by the brig *Clementine*, I reply that it is bound for the Port of La Paz or Guaymas, which are the places to which, in chartering it, the Government of the Territory pledged to send it. In virtue of this, I expect that you shall see fit to send me the number of persons who will follow you according to what you have indicated in your official note.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 6, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO¹⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

As soon as Gutierrez found out where he was going, in order to protect himself from any charges that might be made later concerning his conduct of affairs, he requested the Quartermaster and Paymaster of his Government, Don José María Herrera, to give him a statement concerning the financial state of the Territory. Herrera's report was made late that same day:

José María Herrera, Assistant Quartermaster of Alta California

No. 1

I certify that at the return of Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez to this Post on September seventh of the present year, having once again assumed the Commandancy General and the Civil Government due to the absence of Colonel Don Mariano

Chico, the Sub-treasury under my charge found itself exhausted of funds with which to defray the needs of the garrison, because there was only a limited residue of assets, which by order of the same Señor Chico, following the custom to which necessity had driven us, had been taken from the frigate *Caroline*, by a warrant issued by the Maritime Customs in favor of this Sub-Treasury in part payment for the duties that it produced. This fragment was almost useless for the purpose to which it was to be applied in those circumstances, because the major part of the entire collection by said customs during the previous June had been practically all distributed, as much in money as in goods, with the exception of nineteen hundred and fifteen pesos which were asked for in the first kind by Señor Chico, and which were delivered to him so that he might forward them to the division of troops that was to be found on an expedition to the southern part of the Territory; and for which sum the aforesaid Chief remained responsible, because he has entered no record of its use up to the present time, regarding the object to which it was allotted.

Likewise, Señor Chico was given a draft to the value of six thousand pesos, drawn out in his favor against the Sub-treasury of Guaymas, in virtue of the Supreme order which the General Treasury sent to the General Treasury of Sonora, and the latter to the Sub-treasury under my charge; ordering precisely that that amount should be placed at the disposal of the Commandant General, to be distributed among the troops of the same Territory. And the Sub-treasury having been unable to find a person among the merchants of the said Territory who wanted to lend the six thousand pesos, receiving a draft in exchange, because this country was lacking in commercial connections with the Port of Guaymas, nor having any other method for collecting such a sum; Señor Chico on leaving this territory demanded from the Sub-treasury, in virtue of the order that with such an object had been sent by the Supreme Government to this Commandancy General, that he be given the draft drawn in his favor, as has been stated, in order to negotiate its exchange in Mazatlan whither he was bound, offering to do everything possible, in case that he accomplished his object, to return the aforesaid amount to this Territory; of all of which the General Treasury of Sonora was given the corresponding notice, and since up to the present we are ignorant of the results, the said Chief is likewise responsible for that amount.

It is also a matter of record that since the date of the arrival of Señor Gutierrez to this port, up to that on which his rule ceased, there have been no other revenues in the Sub-treasury than four hundred and fourteen pesos in cash, and one hundred and forty-six in goods which were paid by Don Federico Becher, supercargo and owner of the bark *Leonor*, as part payment on account on the customs duties, according to an order that Señor Gutierrez sent him to that effect; and this having taken place in the last days in which the insurgents marched on this port, only the silver was distributed, the goods falling into the hands of the former, because there was no opportunity for distributing them, since the same day on which the Sub-treasury received them was the one on which the rebels appeared in hostile array before the Presidio, where the small garrison was cornered. It is likewise on record, that the same necessities forced Señor Gutierrez to request from the Missions of Santa Clara and San José a loan of grain for the maintenance of the troops, on which commission I personally had to go at the end of last September; but the vessel that was carrying the said grain having been delayed until the beginning of the present month, it arrived at the time that the insurgents had possessed themselves of the Presidio, and the garrison had capitulated, consequently that aid also fell into their hands.

And by request of said official, I give this in Monterey on November sixth, of eighteen hundred and thirty-six. On ordinary paper because there is none of the official kind.

JOSÉ MARIA HERRERA 20

Governor Guterrez, having armed himself with Herrera's report against the charges made by the rebels that he had raided the treasury, proceeded to reply to Castro's note of November 6, on the morning of the 7th:

No. 15

Trusting in your good faith inspired in me by your communication of today, answering mine of the same date, concerning the fate that I must suffer, and that of those who voluntarily may wish to follow my fortune; and since among them Don Bernardo Navarrete is also included, and he having told me that you have denied him the permission to leave the Territory, I hope that you will see fit to tell me whatever there is to know on this particular question; surely in such a case you will inform me who may go with me and those who must stay, according to your disposition.

It may seem that I am too exacting on this point, but I wish that you would do me the favor of believing that in all this I wish to guard against my great responsibility before the Supreme Government, as well as that of the officers and employees who may wish to follow me.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 7, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ²¹

Don José Castro.

To the preceding note, Castro replied:

Headquarters of the Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 16

The garrison which I command, through the medium of its leaders, has requested me to prevent the departure of Don Bernardo Navarrete because he is a person of public worth and very commendable virtues. I am equally concerned with you in this same matter, therefore do me the favor of leaving me this person in the country, until he shall be able to follow you on some other more favorable opportunity.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 7, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO²²

Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

Since there was nothing he could do about it, Governor Gutierrez acquiesced to the detention of Lieutenant Navarrete. Then Castro, in order to relieve him of any responsibility in the matter, sent him the following note:

Headquarters of the Vanguard of the Division of Operations.

No. 17

In order that you may be able to guard against your responsibility, according to what you state in your official note of this date with respect to the departure of Lieutenant Don Bernardo Navarrete, I state that this officer shall not leave the Territory, due to the authority that has detained him.

God and Liberty. Monterey, November 7, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO²³

Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

No further correspondence passed between Castro and Gutierrez, and the next two days were devoted by the persons to be deported to preparations for their departure. On November 10, the people were sent aboard, and the vessel was ready to sail. Shortly before it sailed, Castro and Alvarado had a conference with the master, Captain William James Handley, at which

they gave him secret written instructions to land his passengers on the lonely beach at Cape San Lucas.

When the *Clementine* arrived at the Cape, Captain Handley ordered the exiles ashore. Governor Gutierrez remonstrated with him, stating that Castro had given him assurance that they would be taken to Mazatlan. Handley then produced his secret instructions and gave Gutierrez a copy. Then in spite of all their pleas, giving them only scant provisions, he set them on the desert beach to starve or shift for themselves as best they might. Castro's orders were as follows:

No. 18

I, William James Handley, Captain of the English brigantine schooner *Clementine*, Certify: that the order which I received in Monterey, to land the Civil Governor and Commandant General Don Nicolas Gutierrez and those who accompany him, from Don José Castro and Don Juan Bautista Alvarado, is literally as follows:

"The Free and Sovereign State of Alta California."

"This Government having chartered the brig *Clementine* commanded by you, from Mr. William Hinckley, agent for said vessel, you will see fit to sail as soon after four o'clock in the afternoon of this day as possible, and you will proceed with all despatch to the Cape of San Lucas, where, when you arrive you will land the passengers, and all their belongings; who are at present aboard of it by order of this Government. And after you have done this, you will start your return for this port, to give this Government a report of having faithfully complied with this order to which we have you pledged.

Monterey, November tenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-six.

JUAN BAUTISTA ALVARADO
JOSÉ CASTRO

To Mr. William Handley, Master of the brig *Clementine*.

This copy is faithfully and legally made from the original which remains in my hands, on ordinary paper because there is none of the sealed kind aboard which is suitable. And in order that it may be useful for the contingencies that may arise, at the request of the said Don Nicolas Gutierrez, I give the present aboard the aforesaid schooner *Clementine* at Cape San Lucas on November twenty-third, eighteen hundred and thirty-six.

WILLIAM JAMES HANDLEY

It is a copy of the original,
San José del Cabo, Baja California.
November 30, 1836.

BERNARDO NAVARRETE, ad interim Secretary²⁴

From the signature of Lieutenant Navarrete at the bottom of the previous document, it must be inferred that either Castro changed his mind, or else the people who had demanded that he should be retained in California did not want him after all. At any rate, it is evident that he was sent aboard the *Clementine* with the other exiles and cast ashore at Cape San Lucas.

The day after Gutierrez capitulated, the revolutionary leaders issued a proclamation to the people of California, congratulating them on their new

freedom. Gutierrez was able to secure a copy of it and attached it to his report, along with the other documents, as number 19:

No. 19

The Most Excellent Deputation of Alta California to its inhabitants:

Californians: Heaven favors you: you are doubtless its chosen portion, and therefore it is leading you with propitious hand to happiness. Until now you have been the sad victims of servile factions, whose chief, content with a passing triumph, taxed to the utmost your long-suffering patience. As obedient sons of the mother country, and faithful defenders of your dear liberties, you swore solemnly before God and men to be free, and to die rather than be slaves. In this spirit, you adopted forever, as a social compact to direct you, the federal Constitution of the year twenty-four, your government was organized at the cost of immense sacrifices, which unnatural sons trampled upon, ignoring them in order to found upon your ruins their own fortune and criminal advancement; and when it seemed that you were already the sure patrimony of the aristocratic tyrant, you boldly waved the banner of the free: "Federation or Death is the destiny of the Californian." Thus have you shouted, and a cry so sweet will be indelibly engraved upon your hearts, in whom [*sic*] the sacred fire of love for the country is seen to burn incessantly. You have tasted the sweet nectar of liberty: the bitter cup of oppression may not be tendered you with impunity. California is free, and will sever her relations with Mexico until she ceases to be oppressed by the present dominant faction called the central government. To accomplish so interesting, so grand an object, it remains only that we, the inhabitants of this soil, united, form a single wish, a single opinion. Let us be united, Californians, and we shall be invincible, if we use all the resources on which we may count. Thus we are free and federalists!

Monterey, November 6, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO
ANTONIO BUELNA

JUAN B. ALVARADO
JOSÉ ANTONIO NORIEGA²⁵

The preceding proclamation, viewed in its proper perspective, is, of course, an absurd statement, because in trying to describe their enemies, Castro and Alvarado succeeded only in giving a picture of themselves. Gutierrez brought this out in his report from Cape San Lucas.

The following day the same group of leaders issued their plan, or declaration of independence, which they had expected to keep secret until Gutierrez and his party had sailed. However, a friend on shore managed to secure a copy, and smuggled it aboard to Gutierrez, who then attached it to his report along with the other documents, as number 20:

No. 20

In the Port of Monterey of Alta California, on the seventh day of the month of November of eighteen hundred and thirty-six, assembled in extraordinary session, the members of the Most Excellent Deputation, Citizens José Castro, Juan B. Alvarado, Antonio Buelna, and José Antonio Noriega, with the object of taking measures for safety, considering the critical circumstances of the Territory, were informed by the Secretary, of the plan of a pronouncement, made in this Territory on the third of the present month, by a multitude of citizens discontented with the form of the Central Government, adopted in the Republic: That, having taken the post by means of a capitulation made by the Commandant General, officers and troops that garrisoned it, they placed themselves at the orders of the Most Excellent Deputation, requesting that it see fit to edit said plan, discarding or adding that which it believed just and in

conformity with the interests of the country; in virtue of which Citizen Alvarado took the floor and said that he was persuaded that the form in which the plan presented was conceived was due to the anxieties of the campaign, because it had been made quite clear publicly what the opinion of the rebels was, that they were resisting only the oppressions of the rulers sent to the Territory, after the basic laws of the new system of the Central Government had been sworn to, due to which the ruin of the Territory was to be expected if extraordinary and instant measures were not taken, he was of the opinion that the plan should be drawn up in the following terms.

1st. Alta California is declared independent from Mexico until such time as the Federal system that was adopted in the year 1824 shall be reestablished.

2d. The same California is erected into a free and sovereign State, establishing a Congress which may pass all the particular laws of the country, and the other Supreme powers that are necessary; the present Most Excellent Deputation declaring itself a Constituent Congress.

3d. The religion shall be the Apostolic Roman Catholic, without admitting the public worship of any other, but the Government shall not molest any one for his private religious opinions.

4th. A constitution shall regulate all the branches of the administration "provisionally," in conformity, in all ways possible, with the aforementioned Constitution.

5th. During the time that what is contained in the preceding articles is being carried to completion, Señor Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo shall be called to the office of Commandant General.

6th. The corresponding communications shall be sent to the municipalities of the Territory by the President of the Most Excellent Deputation.

Señor Castro stated: that in effect it was evident to him and that it was public and well known that the rebels only aspired to free themselves from the injuries that may be inflicted to the public cause and to their private interests, by the rulers sent to the Territory by a Government that was not unanimously accepted by the United States of Mexico, and that for the same reason he was of the opinion that they should be for the proposition of Citizen Alvarado, adding, that if said proposition met with the approval of the Most Excellent Deputation, it might be opportune to make known to the rebels the editing done by this Most Excellent Body, so as to take suitable measures if they should not be for it.

Señor Alvarado's proposition was taken under consideration, and approved by an unanimous vote, and Señor Castro's amendment was likewise accepted.

And those who direct the insurgents being present, they expressed themselves as being satisfied, and in the name of their subordinates who had placed their confidence in them, in all that had been explained to them, and which in reality was their opinion; they then concluded the business. After which, the session that was attended by the said members stood adjourned.

JOSÉ CASTRO
ANTONIO BUELNA

JUAN B. ALVARADO
JOSÉ ANTONIO NORIEGA 26

The statements in this plan also did not conform with the truth, some of them being most absurd. This was later pointed out by Governor Gutierrez in his report from Cape San Lucas. There were a number of other proclamations, issued by Castro and Vallejo a few days after Gutierrez sailed, which had to do with the government of the new state. However, since Gutierrez did not see them and therefore did not comment upon them, they will not be included here.

Time hung heavy on the hands of the exiles, so, taking advantage of that fact, Governor Gutierrez utilized it in writing a number of reports to the Central Government. The first of these was in the form of a list of the people who made up his party. It follows:

No. 1

Statement concerning the officers, troops and civil employees who have been deported from the Territory of Alta California in company with the Commandant General and ad interim Civil Governor, Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez, by reason of the insurrection against the Supreme Government which took place on the 3d of the present month.

Artillery

Principal Commander, Captain Don Juan Muñoz and his family	
Corporal - - - - -	Pedro Guerrero
Artilleryman - - - - -	Bernardo Curiel
Artilleryman - - - - -	José María Ramirez
Artilleryman - - - - -	Narciso Sanchez

Regular Hidalgo Battalion

Sub-Lieutenant - - - - -	Don Patricio Estrada
Bugler - - - - -	Antonio del Valle
Drummer - - - - -	Antonio Rodriguez
Drummer - - - - -	José Evodio
Corporal - - - - -	Santiago Gomez
Soldier - - - - -	Jesus Tendiso
Soldier - - - - -	Manuel Zamora
Soldier - - - - -	Reyes Garcia
Soldier - - - - -	José María Aguilar
Soldier - - - - -	Jesus Riestra

Presidial Company of Monterey

Lieutenant - - - - -	Don Patricio Estrada
Bugler - - - - -	Marcelo Navarro

Maqatlan Squadron

Dragoon - - - - -	José Navarro
Retired Captain - - - - -	Don Andrés Castellero

Civilians

Sub-Treasurer Don José María Herrera and family
 Official in charge of the secretaryship of the Civil Governorship,
 Don Manuel María Gonzalez and family
 The Director of the Normal School, Don José Mariano Romero
 Eight civilians

NOTE:

His Honor the District Judge, Lawyer Don Luis del Castillo Negrete and his family, were embarked in the National schooner *Leonidas*, for the same reason as those in the preceding list.

Cape San Lucas, Baja California, November 28, 1836.

O. K.
 GUTIERREZ

BERNARDO NAVARRETE²⁷
 ad interim Secretary

On the same day, Colonel Gutierrez wrote a second report to the Central Government, inclosing a number of letters that had passed between him and Commodore Edmund B. Kennedy, United States Navy, only a few days before the revolution broke out. He said:

Excellent Sir:

No. 2

Under separate cover I notified Your Excellency of the arrival at the Bay of Monterey of the Commodore of the Asiatic Squadron of the United States of the North, Mr. Kennedy, and now I have the honor of forwarding the correspondence that passed between this government and the aforementioned Commander, so that in case you see fit, you may bring it to the notice of His Excellency the President, being pleased to accept my respectful consideration and particular regard.

God and Liberty. Cape of San Lucas, in Baja California, November 28, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ²⁸

His Excellency the Minister
of War and Marine, Mexico.

Along with the report and list of persons in his party, Gutierrez sent the Minister of War this note:

No. 3

I enclose for Your Excellency, so that you may please bring it to the attention of His Excellency the President of the Republic, a report on the officers, troops, and employees who, ever faithful to the Supreme Government, did not wish to take part in the revolution that broke out in Alta California on the 3d of the present month, and for which reason they were expelled from the Territory in my company.

God and Liberty, Cape of San Lucas in Baja California, November 28, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ²⁹

His Excellency the Minister
of War and Marine, Mexico.

Two days later, after having spent a full week on the beach at Cape San Lucas, during which they suffered much from lack of water and provisions, Gutierrez finally managed to move his numerous followers to the Mission of San José del Cabo, some miles inland from the roadstead. There they stayed for weeks, while waiting in vain for some vessel to arrive that might carry them to the mainland, or for a means of transportation to transfer themselves to the port of La Paz, one hundred miles to the north on the Gulf Coast. While at Mission San José del Cabo, Gutierrez wrote to the Minister of War, telling of his plight:

No. 4

Excellent Sir:

On this date I addressed the Sub-Treasurer of this Baja California in order to negotiate for the transportation of the officers, troops, employees and their families that are living here, a list of whom I have sent Your Excellency under separate cover, and I hope that you will have the kindness to approve the expenses of conducting them to Mazatlan where I shall receive superior orders, begging that you be pleased to issue your instructions so that the General Treasury of Sinaloa, which is located at Rosario, shall issue our pay with promptness, in order to provide for the consequent want that

has been caused by the unreasonable expulsion which we have suffered at the hands of the insurgents of Alta California.

God and Liberty. Mission of San José del Cabo, at Cape San Lucas, November 30, 1836.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ³⁰

His Excellency the Secretary
of the Office of War and Marine, Mexico.

On November 30, Gutierrez also finished his general report, addressed to the Minister of War, a long document that must have taken him days to write. In it he told his side of the story of the November Revolution.³¹ He then continued to wait at the Mission for the opportunity to get a ship to convey him and his party to the mainland. While they were still there, on December 6, 1836, Lieutenant Don Bernardo Navarrete wrote to a friend in Sinaloa as follows:

Commandancy General
of Sinaloa. No. 126.
San José del Cabo.

December 6, 1836.

Señor Don Juan Nepomuseno Lopez Portilla.

My very dear friend and sir:

A revolution which broke out in Upper California against the Supreme Government, in order to set that Territory free from Mexico, and in which the foreigners from North America took a large part, forced Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez, who was acting in the capacity of Commandant General and ad interim Civil Governor, to capitulate because he had no troops with which to resist those of the insurgents. Furthermore, we had against us the fact that the force commanded by the General, being native to that country and there having been much seduction among them, went over at once to the side of the insurgents, and only about thirty soldiers remained with us, while we were faced by an enemy of about 200 men, in possession of the most advantageous locations in Monterey. There were five American vessels in that port at the time, and Mr. William Hinckley, who was in accord with the rebels, had two of his own ships and provided the revolutionists with many arms, munitions, men and cannons so that they might fight us. During those days the Commodore of the United States, Mr. Edmund B. Kennedy, arrived in that port in a frigate of war which carried 200 men. He informed himself thoroughly concerning the revolution that was being plotted. He made public announcement that he had eight warships in these waters with which to protect the commerce of his country. For this reason the Americans took a big part in the revolution, and it is believed that this may have some connection with affairs in Texas.

Three days after the capitulation, during which they failed in all their promises to us, without any provisions whatever, they made us embark on the *Clementine* with an order to the Captain that he was to cast us ashore at Cape San Lucas, and so it happened that we were disembarked there on November 23 last, and here you have us experiencing a thousand hardships and without any resources.

Those who were exiled were Señor Gutierrez, Captain Muñoz of the Artillery, myself and other officers; the District Judge, Don Luis del Castillo Negrete, and the Assistant Quartermaster, Don José María Herrera, about a dozen soldiers who decided to follow us, and various other persons more.

Señor Gutierrez thinks of crossing over to Mazatlan as soon as he obtains a vessel, there to await the decision of the Supreme Government.

Your affectionate friend wishes you the best of health.

BERNARDO NAVARRETE³²

Two days after Navarrete wrote to his friend, on December 8, 1836, Governor Gutierrez wrote to the Government in Mexico requesting it to approve the expenses of transporting himself and his followers from San José del Cabo to Mazatlan. At the same time Gutierrez addressed an official note to the Quartermaster General of the Department of Sinaloa, asking him to provide the means to carry out their departure. All these despatches were sent overland to La Paz and from there across the Gulf of California to the mainland. The Quartermaster General seems to have busied himself at once with the task of aiding Governor Gutierrez, because several weeks later the National brig schooner *Correo Mercado* arrived at Cape San Lucas to pick up the exiles.

When the vessel arrived, it was found that it was too small to take all the members of the party in one trip. Also, due to adverse circumstances, the vessel could not make a second trip to get those who might have to stay. The question now came up as to who should go to Mazatlan and who should remain at San José del Cabo. After due deliberation, Gutierrez decided to stay, keeping nineteen officers and men with him while all the women and children and all the soldiers and employees were sent to Mazatlan. Governor Gutierrez once again wrote official notes to the Quartermaster General and the Commandant General of the Department, requesting those officials to send a National warship to Cape San Lucas to pick up the residue of his party. He argued that by so doing it would save the public treasury a considerable expense, as it would facilitate the transportation and would reduce the cost.

By this time, however, the Department officials were not so eager to help him, so Gutierrez waited and waited for a reply. Week after week stretched out into month after month, and still no answer. It was now April, and nothing had been heard either from Mexico or Department headquarters. Just as Gutierrez was beginning to get quite tired of waiting, along came the small National schooner *Angeles*, Captain Don Salvador Aguiar, master, and stopped at Cape San Lucas. Gutierrez at once entered into negotiations with him to charter the vessel to take him to Mazatlan. This was quickly effected, and Gutierrez guaranteed the Captain three hundred and seventy pesos, payable by the Treasury at Mazatlan, for the rent of his ship. Thus it was that on April 4, 1837, Gutierrez and his party of nineteen departed from San José del Cabo after some five long, weary months of hardships in that barren spot, and by April 6, were safely landed at Mazatlan. From there the Governor once more addressed the Minister of War, on April 11, 1837:

Commandancy General
of Alta California
Excellent Sir

No. 20

MARGINAL NOTE

EXTRACT

It is reported that the National schooner *Angeles* was chartered for transporting purposes for 370 pesos, and he requests that this expense be approved and that the General Treasury of Sinaloa be ordered to aid the troops and employees with their pay. May, 3/37.

ANTECEDENTS

May 17/37.

That it be paid when the circumstances of the revenue may allow it.

In an official note of December 8, of last year, I said to Your Excellency: that you be pleased to approve the expenses that were economically laid out for transporting me and those who follow me to the Port of Mazatlan; and to that end I sent an official note to the Quartermaster General of this Department so that he might raise the means for that purpose. Said gentleman sent the National brig schooner *Correo Mercado*, and it not being possible for said vessel to make a second voyage so as to finish transporting those of us who remained in San José del Cabo, to the number of twenty persons, I again sent an official note to the same office and to the Commandant General of the Department to the end that one of the National warships that are to be found stationed in this Port be ordered sent, thus effecting a saving to the public treasury, and in this way making our transportation more easy and less costly. But since five months passed by without an answer being received, I contracted to charter the National schooner *Angeles* from its Captain, Don Salvador Aguiar, in the very moderate sum of three hundred and seventy pesos, which ship anchored with us in this port on the 6th of the current month.

Likewise, on that date I begged Your Excellency to be pleased to send your orders to this General Treasury to the end that the troops and employees should be paid their salaries, which they have not received for a long time, and now I again make the same request from Your Excellency; because the circumstances of a wicked ejection and the notorious poverty of the country which we have just traversed, puts the soldier to the hardest test.

Your Excellency will please bring all this to the superior attention of His Excellency the ad interim President so that he may see fit to order that the stated expenditure for transportation be passed on to the account of the General Treasury of this Department, and that the same office may be ordered to aid those who follow me with their pay, as I have stated, receiving at the same time the protestations of my respect and high consideration.

God and Liberty. Port of Mazatlan, April 11, 1837.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ³³

His Excellency the Minister
of War and Marine, Mexico.

The Minister of War promptly took up the matter with the President, and by May 17 was able to reply to Gutierrez as follows:

His Excellency the President orders that the amount of the rental for the schooner *Angeles* in which you were transported to Mazatlan be paid when the circumstances of the treasury may permit.

By his order I notify you in reply to your official note referring to it, of the 11th of the past month.

Mexico, May 17, 1837.

[RUBRIC]³⁴

Lieutenant Colonel
Don Nicolas Gutierrez.

This reply was not very encouraging, to say the least, either to Gutierrez or to Captain Aguiar, whose vessel had been rented. It meant that the former and his soldiers would not get their pay very soon, and that the latter might as well forget that he had ever rented his vessel to the Government. At that time, the treasury of the Department of Sinaloa was in a very depleted condition, as was also the National treasury. At that very moment, the National Government was also trying to raise the sum of 60,000 pesos with which to defray the expenses of a large expedition which it was planning to send to California to reestablish law and order. All its efforts proved futile, since it could not get the money, even though it tried to borrow it from the Pious Fund.³⁵ In March, the National Congress had passed a decree authorizing the borrowing of the above amount. The various branches of the Government took up the matter, as is evident from the following acknowledgment from the Minister of Foreign Relations to the Minister of the Treasury:

Excellent Sir:

I have received the sovereign decree which Your Excellency has seen fit to forward to me in your official note of the 1st of the current month, relative to the proposition that the Government contract a loan for 60,000 pesos for the expedition to California.

Mexico, April 12, 1837.

[RUBRIC]³⁶

His Excellency the Minister of the Treasury.

The Texan revolution of the previous year had caused the Government to use all its spare cash and to strain its credit to the limit, consequently a minor item such as the rent for a small ship and the salaries of a few exiled soldiers were of very little concern to it. That being the case, Colonel Gutierrez waited and waited at Mazatlan for several months, then somehow he set out for Mexico City, where he arrived late in 1837, and there he is lost forever from the history of California.

NOTES

1. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 448-49.
2. *Ibid.*, 446.
3. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. A. Estudillo, Monterey, Oct. 7, 1836, in Estudillo, "Datos de California," MS, 57-58, Bancroft Library.
4. Alvarado probably overestimated the number of convicts, because there were few, if any, in jail in Monterey at the time, and Gutierrez had no arms with which to arm them, as will be seen by his report to the Mexican Government.

5. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, in Vallejo, "Documentos para la historia de California," MS, III, 262.
6. The correspondence is here arranged in chronological order, rather than in the numerical order in which Gutierrez arranged it.
7. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Malarin, Monterey, Nov. 2, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 8, Archivo General de Guerra y de Marina, Mexico.
8. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 3, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. Copy certified by Bernardo Navarrete, ad interim Secretary, San José del Cabo, Nov. 30, 1836.
9. J. A. Muñoz to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 2, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
10. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 4, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
11. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 5, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
12. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Castro, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 6, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. Copy certified by Navarrete, San José del Cabo, Nov. 30, 1836.
13. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Castro, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 7, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. Copy certified by Navarrete, San José del Cabo, Nov. 30, 1836.
14. Minutes of Council of War, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 9, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. Copy certified by A. V. Zamorano and José María Ramirez, Angeles, Nov. 30, 1836.
15. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Castro, Monterey, Nov. 4, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 10, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
16. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 5, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 11, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
17. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 12, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
18. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Castro, Monterey, Nov. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 13, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
19. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 14, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
20. J. M. Herrera to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
21. Gov. N. Gutierrez to J. Castro, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 15, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
22. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 16, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
23. J. Castro to Gov. Gutierrez, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 17, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. Copy certified by Navarrete, San José del Cabo, Nov. 30, 1836.
24. Capt. W. J. Handley to Gov. Gutierrez, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 23, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 18, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
25. Castro, Proclamation to Californians, Monterey, Nov. 6, 1836, imprint No. 19, 52-8-7-1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.; translated in Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 469-70; also in Z. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, IV, 56.

26. Revolutionary Plan for Independence of California, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, imprint No. 20, 52-8-7-1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
27. Gov. N. Gutierrez to Minister of War, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 28, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
28. Gov. N. Gutierrez to Minister of War, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 28, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 2, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex. The full correspondence mentioned by Gutierrez was published in this *Quarterly*, XII, 2, June, 1933, 133-46.
29. Gov. N. Gutierrez to Minister of War, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 28, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 3, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
30. Gov. N. Gutierrez to Minister of War, Mission San José del Cabo, Nov. 30, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 4, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
31. Gutierrez' report (MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.), dated at San José del Cabo, November 30, 1836, repeats in detail all that has gone before and much that has been implied in the various documents reproduced in the text. Since it would occupy about fifteen pages of printed matter, it is not included here, but it is hoped that at a later date space will be available in which to print it in full.
32. B. Navarrete to J. N. Lopez Portilla, San José del Cabo, Dec. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
33. Gov. N. Gutierrez to Minister of War, Mazatlan, Apr. 11, 1837, MS, 52-8-7-1, No. 20, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
34. Minister of War to Gov. Gutierrez, Mexico, May 17, 1837, MS, 52-8-7-1, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.
35. G. Tays, "Captain Andrés Castellero, Diplomat," in this *Quarterly*, XIV, 3, Sept., 1935, 230-68. This article gives an account of the efforts of the Government in trying to raise the loan, and its failure.
36. Minister of Foreign Relations to Minister of Treasury, Mexico, Apr. 12, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, Arch. Gen. de G. y M., Mex.

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO*

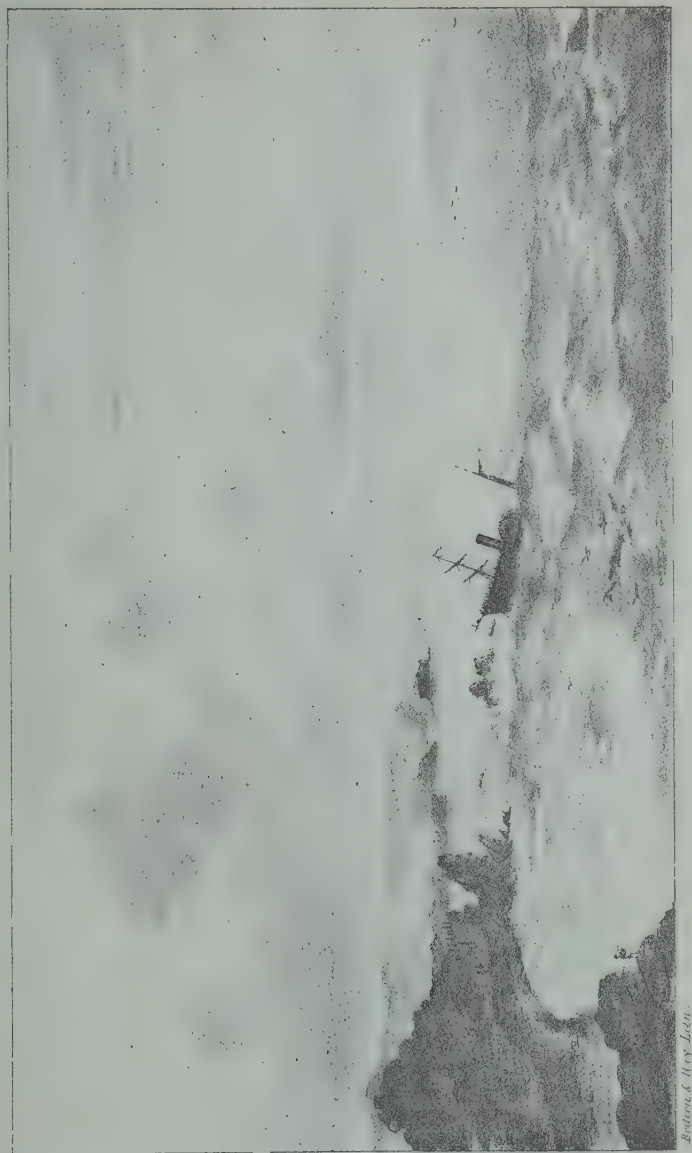
JUNE 5 TO AUGUST 12, 1855

June 5. The Bolton & Barron claim, covering three leagues of land, including the Mission Dolores and a valued portion of the City, was confirmed by the U. S. Land Commissioners. An injunction was issued from the Superior Court, at the instance of C. L. Ross, restraining the County Supervisors from purchasing the property in the rear of the City Hall for \$25,000. The village of Auburn was almost entirely consumed by fire. The whole number of houses destroyed was seventy-five, and the loss estimated at \$250,000. Marion, one of the murderers of West, being surrounded by his pursuers near San Leandro, to prevent being captured alive, committed suicide by shooting himself in the head with a pistol.

June 6. The clipper ship *Flying Cloud* arrived, 108 days from New York, consigned to Morgan, Hathaway & Co. This is the fourth visit of this vessel to this port. Her first passage, in 1851, was made in eighty-nine days; the second, in 1853, in 105 days, when she raced with the *Hornet*; the third, in 1854, in eighty-nine days. The National Lancers had an election. Thomas Hayes was chosen Captain; Mr. Fennell, First Lieutenant; and Mr. Hayes, Second Lieutenant. A meeting of the creditors of Page, Bacon & Co. was held in their banking house, at which, after some discussion, many of the creditors signed an agreement embodying the propositions of Messrs. Page and Garrison made at previous meetings. The Governor appointed John S. Hager, Esq., Judge of the Fourth District Court, *vice* Delos Lake, resigned. The Canvassing Committee of the Board of Aldermen canvassed the returns of the election, by which it was shown that, in addition to the officers already named in this summary, the following were elected: Aldermen—Charles H. Corser, Dem.; Joseph Hopkins, Dem.; C. W. Hathaway, K. N.; J. W. Brittan, K. N.; J. M. Tewksbury, K. N.; R. W. Slocumb, Dem.; Robert Rankin, K. N.; William Green, Dem. Assistant Aldermen—Charles Wilson, Dem.; R. J. Tobin, Dem.; E. P. Peckham, K. N.; H. J. Wells, K. N.; C. J. Bartlett, K. N.; John Vandewater, Dem.; William H. Dow, K. N.; J. B. Beideman, Dem. Assessors—Michael Gaffney, Dem.; Charles Umber, Dem.; W. E. Dennis, K. N.; M. G. Brown, K. N.; R. M. Cox, K. N.; J. M. White, Dem.; S. P. Burnham, K. N.; and J. B. Johnson, Dem. By the *Archibald Gracie*, papers were received from Honolulu containing the announcement that the house of Page, Bacon & Co., of that city, had no pecuniary interest whatever in the affairs of Page, Bacon & Co., of San Francisco, or in the business of Messrs. Page & Bacon, of St. Louis.

June 7. The Nicaragua S. S. *Cortes* arrived, twelve days from San Juan, bringing news that the Cuban expedition was abandoned. The Volunteer Engine Company, No. 7, had an election of officers, in which J. M. Haskell was chosen Foreman. The editor of the *Herald* received a present of cherries raised at the residence of L. Cohn, corner of Sacramento and Taylor streets, from a tree but two years old. A large mass meeting of settlers was held at the old Mission Church, to take measures to protect their property and improvements against the Bolton & Barron claim. It was presided over by Elisha Cook, Esq., and addressed by Mr. Green, Mr. O'Connor, and Judge Brown. Several resolutions were passed, denouncing the conduct of the Commissioners in confirming the claim, and directing that a memorial should be drawn up and forwarded to Wash-

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" is adapted from the "Monthly Summary of Events" in the *Pioneer*, Vol. IV.



*The wreck of the Yankee Blade, as she appeared on the evening of October 1st, 1854.
From a drawing made upon the spot by one of the passengers. AT Harrison.*

The wreck of the *Yankee Blade* is mentioned under date of October 9, 1854, in the
"Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco," and reference
thereto occurs repeatedly thereafter.

ington, requesting the immediate removal of the present Commissioners from their office, and that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be instructed to urge the passage of a law to secure to all *bona fide* settlers the lands they have settled on and improved in good faith. It was also resolved that the settlers throughout the country should form an association, to be called "The Settlers' League of California," and that at elections it should support for the different judgeships only such persons as were known to be favorable to the cause of the settlers. The meeting adjourned, to meet on the 16th inst. The Judiciary Committee of the Board of Aldermen reported adversely to the claim of \$2,000 made by Jonathan Wilde against the City for expenses incurred by him in maintaining his seat in the Board of Assistant Aldermen and defending himself against the presentment by the Grand Jury for malfeasance in office. The Mayor's nomination of Colonel Pardee to the Board of Funding Commissioners was confirmed by the Board of Assistant Aldermen.

June 8. A motion to dissolve the injunction issued at the instance of C. L. Ross, to restrain the Supervisors from purchasing the property in the rear of the City Hall, was denied by the Superior Court and the injunction sustained.

June 9. An adjourned meeting of the settlers on the Bolton & Barron claim was held at the Mission. It was resolved that copies of the memorial to the President of the United States, requesting the removal of the Commissioners, should be sent to all parts of the State and should be forwarded to Washington at as early a day as practicable; that the settlers should form an association, to be known as "The Settlers' League," and assess themselves an equitable *pro rata* of the premises they owned; to defend the same before the District and Supreme Courts of the United States; and, that, discarding all personal and political feelings, they should unite, heart and soul, against the Bolton & Barron claimants. The meeting was addressed by Mr. John Center, Mr. Thomas Hayes, and Mr. Charles E. Pickett, and, pursuant to a resolution offered by the latter gentleman, a committee was appointed to ascertain upon what terms the claimants under the Bolton & Barron claim would compromise or quitclaim their interest.

June 10. The steamer *Thomas Hunt*, owned by the California Steam Navigation Company, sailed under canvas for China, but, when outside of the Heads, was struck by a squall which carried away her main and mizzen topmasts, compelling her to return to port. She is intended to be used as a towboat on the Boga Tigres River in China. The third anniversary of the San Francisco Sunday School Union was commemorated at the First Congregational Church. Twelve hundred children of both sexes, between the ages of seven and sixteen, were present. The exercises consisted of prayers and hymns, in which the children joined, and an address to parents and guardians, delivered by the Rev. Dr. Scott.

June 11. The Settlers' memorial, denouncing the U. S. Land Commissioners and praying for their removal, was published in the daily papers. The Board of Supervisors passed a resolution, instructing the District Attorney to defend them against any injunctions that had been or might be served upon them relative to the purchase of additional county property, and to defend the County Auditor and County Treasurer against any injunction restricting them in the issuing or cashing of County Warrants, drawn for the purchase of the buildings, &c., in the rear of the City Hall, in accordance with the ordinance authorizing the same.

June 12. A meeting of the creditors of Page, Bacon & Co. was held at the banking house, at which considerable dissatisfaction at the turn affairs had taken was expressed, but after considerable discussion a motion was passed that those who had not signed the agreement should come forward and do so, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*. The Nicaragua S. S. *Uncle Sam* arrived, ten and three-quarters days from San Juan—the quickest trip on record. She brought news of the capture of Baker, the murderer of Bill

Poole, by the officers dispatched on the clipper ship *Grape Shot*, at Palmas, on the 6th of April; of the continued bombardment of Sebastopol; and of the attempted assassination of Louis Napoleon at Paris by an Italian named Pianori. The U. S. Land Commissioners confirmed the claim of J. L. Folsom to eight leagues of land, called the Rio de los Americanos, in Sacramento County, derived from W. A. Leidesdorff, to whom it had been granted by Governor Micheltorena, October 8, 1844. This decision was important, as it involved the question of escheated estates, and had a bearing upon the title of Mr. Folsom to lands forming the estate of William A. Leidesdorff in this city.

June 13. The Bell Ringer of the City Hall was suspended for not giving the alarm promptly and correctly, but after an examination before the Board of Delegates was acquitted and restored to his place. An information was filed in the Fourth District Court by Attorney-General J. R. McConnell against J. L. Folsom and others for the escheat of the estate of William A. Leidesdorff. A fire broke out in a small wooden building on Jackson Street, and destroyed nearly two-thirds of the block bounded by Dupont, Jackson, Stockton and Washington streets. The loss was estimated at \$45,000.

June 14. The ordinance for the settlement and quieting of land titles was passed by the Board of Aldermen by a vote of five to three. The new bell of St. Mary's Cathedral was rung for the first time. A man named Derby was run over and seriously injured by a horse attached to a water cart. The Sunday School of the Seamen's Bethel had an exhibition on board the floating chapel at the corner of Mission and Spear streets.

June 15. Miss Jane Davenport had a farewell benefit at the Metropolitan Theater. The First Light Dragoons made their annual election of officers, and chose J. Rowell for Captain; J. S. Reid, First Lieutenant; J. W. Whaling, Second Lieutenant.

June 16. The Democratic primary election of delegates to the Democratic Convention took place, in the course of which the singular discovery was made that there were more votes polled in this city in many of the wards than in the late municipal election. The same election held in Sacramento resulted in the entire success of the "Biglerites," and in Nevada [City] four Know-Nothing Democrats were elected. A meeting of the Settlers was held at Musical Hall. Judge Sutherland presided. John A. Lent, who had been appointed a committee to wait upon Palmer, Cook & Co. and ascertain upon what terms they would compromise or quitclaim the interest claimed by them under the "Bolton Grant," read a letter from William Lippincott, Esq., in which he stated that the J. R. Bolton claim was held by an association of gentlemen in Philadelphia, the deed for which was in the name of three trustees, from whom he held a full power of attorney, but that he declined making any specific terms for compromise, preferring to await the action of the courts, or until the views of those he represented should be received. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Judge Brosnan and other gentlemen, and a series of resolutions passed, having in view the promotion of the interests of the Settlers. A committee was appointed to carry out the resolutions, and the meeting adjourned to the 28th inst. Mr. Robert Cushing was arrested and held to bail for being engaged in an election affray at the Sixth Ward polls, and for exchanging several pistol shots with a man named James Casey. The P. M. S. S. *Golden Gate* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the value of \$1,101,858.04, and the Nicaragua steamer *Sierra Nevada* for San Juan, with treasure to the value of \$828,972.94.

June 17. The anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill passed off without any manifestation except that of Captain Hoxie, of the clipper ship *Phoenix*, who, to its and his own honor, fired a salute of thirteen guns. An application was filed in the Twelfth District Court for an order for the arrest of Daniel D. Page, on the plea that he was intending to leave the State with a view to defraud his creditors, but the order was not issued until after Mr. Page had departed on the *Sierra Nevada*. In the Superior Court, Mr.

Argenti made a motion to dismiss the suit of Felix Argenti *vs.* The City of San Francisco, which was set down for argument.

June 18. Professor Risley, his son, the infant prodigy, and the celebrated gymnast, Mons. D'Evani, made their first appearance at the Metropolitan Theater. Green, the driver of the team by which Mr. Derby was run over and killed, was examined by the Recorder and held for trial on the charge of manslaughter, subject to indictment by the Grand Jury. The Howard Fire Company, No. 3, embarked on board the *Bragdon* on an excursion to Stockton. A festival was given by C. Hathaway, Esq., on board the *Flying Cloud*, at which Captain Cressy presided. General Wool and staff, many prominent merchants, and several members of the press were among the invited guests. It was characterized by the greatest hilarity and called forth many good wishes for a speedy passage for the ship, then about to depart for the China Seas.

June 19. The Pennsylvania Engine Company, No. 12, stored their engine until it should receive an appropriation from the city for the repairing of certain injuries received during the late fire on Jackson Street. Messrs. Maynard, Davidson, Piper and Story tendered their resignations as Aldermen, with a view, it is supposed, to avoid countenancing by their presence any rascality that might be attempted in the last days of the Council. In the Board of Assistant Aldermen, the "Van Ness Ordinance," with certain amendments made by Mr. Cushman, was passed. A number of shareholders of the Metropolitan Homestead Association met in the Metropolitan Theater to learn the result of the drawing. A committee was chosen who were placed in possession of the duplicate tickets, as received from the printer, in packages purporting to contain one thousand tickets each. When counted, the total was found to fall short thirty-three tickets. A good deal of dissatisfaction being expressed, Mr. Barbeau, the proprietor, attributed the deficiency to a mistake of the printer, and proposed that the shareholders should appoint six of their number a committee to get up an entire new set of tickets, which proposition was finally carried and the meeting adjourned.

June 20. A great trotting match for \$2,000 came off at Sacramento between the racers "Lady Jane" and "Lady Vernon," which was won by the latter—she making the first mile heat in 2:31, and the second in 2:37. A fire broke out in Oakland and destroyed property to the value of \$15,000, among which was a distillery owned by Messrs. Camp & Eggert. The clipper ship *Dashing Wave* arrived from Boston, bringing a number of locomotive engines and railroad cars to be used on the Sacramento Valley Railroad. A State Temperance Convention met at Sacramento; General John A. Wilson was elected President, and James Churchman, Vice-President. Over a hundred delegates were present.

June 21. All the lands within the corporate limits of the City of San Francisco above the natural high water mark of the Bay were entered as United States lands in trust for the several use and benefit of the occupants or possessors thereof, according to the provisions of the ordinance of the Common Council, passed and approved on the 20th ult. The Howards, returned by the *Bragdon* from Stockton, were met at the wharf by other fire companies by whom they were escorted to their engine house. A number of bonfires were lighted upon the hills in the vicinity of the city in honor of the passage of the "Van Ness Ordinance." The steamship *America* set sail for Puget Sound, en route for Steilacoom, Washington Territory, carrying a detachment of United States troops—in number, one hundred and ninety-three, under the command of Major Prince.

June 22. A committee of medical gentlemen met by invitation upon the stage of the Metropolitan Theater to examine more closely the extraordinary feats of Mons. D'Evani. The examination was perfectly satisfactory, and the faculty present signed a certificate "that the feats of Mons. D'Evani were performed solely by his extraordi-

nary flexibility and the control he possesses over his muscles, and that he receives no adventitious aid."

June 23. The injunction to restrain the Board of Supervisors from purchasing the property in the rear of the City Hall was finally issued from the Superior Court on the complaint of Mr. Joseph Rasette. The drawing of prizes in the Metropolitan Homestead Association took place at the Metropolitan Theater. A large meeting of the Settlers was held at Musical Hall. W. I. Show was chosen President of the meeting, and a series of propositions were adopted as the basis on which to form a platform during the ensuing election. A German named Umbsen, the keeper of a grocery store on the corner of Kearny and Charles streets, was shot by a grocer named Lohe, while the latter was laboring under a fit of insanity. Lohe was immediately taken in charge by the police and conveyed to the Station House. The celebrated mammoth ox "Eclipse" was sold at auction by Messrs. Wainwright & Co. for the sum of \$525. The weight of the animal is stated to be 4,000 pounds.

June 24. As Mrs. Casey was quietly wending her way to church she was attacked by an infuriated bull, and so severely injured that for some time her life was despaired of. In the excitement of the moment, the *vaqueros* of the herd to which the bull belonged made their escape, and with their cattle eluded the vigilance of the police.

June 25. In the matter of I. C. Woods *vs.* his creditors, before the Fourth District Court, an order was entered directing the Sheriff to pay over to Felix Tracy and others, judgment creditors, the balance of the moneys and funds in his hands arising from sales of any property of I. C. Woods by virtue of executions on judgments; also an order authorizing the assignees to sell at public auction all the real estate surrendered by Woods. Messrs. Trench and Baker of the Metropolitan, McGuire, Horn and Smith of the San Francisco Hall, and Dunlap and Dowling of the American, were arrested on a charge of violating the statute, passed at the recent session of the Legislature, relating to Sunday theatricals. The mining village of Angels Camp was almost entirely destroyed by fire; the loss was estimated at \$40,000. The Howard Engine Company met at their house and passed a series of resolutions complimentary to the hospitable treatment which they had received from the citizens of Stockton during their late visit to that city.

June 27. In the U. S. District Court, before Judges Hoffman and McAllister, the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Frémont case was declared to be applicable to all grants made under the colonization laws, and a motion made to modify the decree in the Frémont case was denied. The Board of Assistant Aldermen adjourned *sine die*. The Democratic State Convention commenced its session at Sacramento; Colonel Fairfax, of Yuba, was chosen Chairman. The report of W. G. Wood, the referee appointed to examine the accounts of Mr. A. A. Cohen, receiver of Adams & Co., was filed in the Fourth District Court and confirmed; but on motion of Messrs. Halleck, Peachy & Billings, an order was entered against Mr. Cohen to show cause why his accounts should not be opened, and he be held liable on his official bond, on a charge that the accounts were incorrect.

June 28. A man named Henry Williams was found guilty of vagrancy under the statute, and sentenced to imprisonment for ninety days. An Ocean Penny Post Company advertised to carry letters to any part of the United States, or of the State of California, for the low price of five cents each. The Board of Aldermen adjourned to meet at the call of the President. The Democratic State Convention commenced balloting for Governor—John Bigler received 128 votes, and Milton S. Latham, 115, the number necessary for election being 143.

June 29. The steamship *Columbia* arrived from Oregon, bringing news of the burn-

ing of the steamship *America* at Crescent City while on her way to Puget Sound, having on board a company of U. S. Infantry, under the command of Major Prince. The cargo and soldiers were landed at Crescent City; no lives lost. The loss was estimated at \$140,000; no insurance. Hon. John Bigler was re-nominated for Governor, and Samuel Purdy for Lieutenant-Governor, by the Democratic State Convention. Mr. Charles Bryan, of Yuba, was nominated for Judge of the Supreme Court for the long term, and Hon. Myron Norton, of Los Angeles, for the short term.

July 1. A fire occurred near the corner of Sacramento Street and Waverly Place which destroyed property to the value of \$15,000, and a baker named Herman Breven was arrested on suspicion of being the incendiary. City Marshal North was presented with a gold medallion badge of office by a number of his friends. The Democratic State Convention nominated G. H. Crossette, of the Butte *Record*, State Printer. It also nominated a State Central Committee, of which B. F. Washington was Chairman; and Colonel W. H. Bell, of San Francisco, Mr. Asten, of Placer, and Mr. C. F. Powell, of Stockton, for State Prison Directors.

July 2. The Lafayette Hook & Ladder Company paraded through the streets with their new truck, and afterwards proceeded to the Mission Dolores, where they were entertained by the Rough Diamond Company, No. 13. The new Common Council was organized. The U. S. Circuit Court, Judge McAllister, was regularly opened for the first time, in the room of the U. S. District Court. Judge John S. Hager took his seat as Judge of the Fourth District Court.

July 3. His Honor, Mayor Van Ness, assumed the jurisdiction of the Court formerly presided over by the Recorder. Mr. J. L. Barbeau, proprietor of the Metropolitan Homestead Association Raffle, was arrested on a charge of obtaining money under false pretences. It was alleged that the holders of drawn numbers were unable to gain possession of the buildings announced as prizes in the raffle. The Confidence Engine Company, No. 5, of Sacramento, and Yuba, No. 2, of Marysville, arrived by the Sacramento boat. They were received by the fire companies of the city, and marched through the streets in procession.

July 4. A large fire occurred which destroyed property to the value of \$75,000. It commenced near the corner of Bush and Kearny streets, and consumed nearly half the block bounded by Kearny, Bush, Pine, and Montgomery. A regatta took place between the yachts *Jerry Bryant*, *David Scannell*, *Flying Cloud*, *Mischief*, and *Rattler*. They sailed around a stake boat anchored off Hunter's Point, then around one off Goat Island, then to one off Fort Point, and then back to Vallejo Street Wharf. The *Flying Cloud* came in ahead. The *David Scannell* capsized when opposite Meiggs' Wharf, but her passengers were rescued. The *Jerry Bryant* ran on the Tonquin Shoal, capsized, and her captain, Perkins, a very estimable man, was drowned. The day, the seventy-ninth anniversary of American Independence, was celebrated in the following manner: There was a national salute by the artillery at day-break. The military were reviewed upon the Plaza by General Wool and Major General J. A. Sutter and staff, and also on Market Street, near the junction of Montgomery. A collation was given by the military to the firemen in the Polka Saloon. A *fête champêtre*, under the direction of George Loder, was held at Russ's Gardens. A dinner was given at the Oriental Hotel by Major General J. A. Sutter, at which General Wool and other distinguished persons were invited guests. A grand complimentary dinner at the Rasette House was tendered by the fire companies of San Francisco to the fire companies of Sacramento and Marysville, at which Governor Bigler, Lieutenant-Governor Purdy, and other distinguished persons were present. There were brilliant performances at all the theaters; fireworks by Winn, from his new Union Saloon on the Plaza; and a ball at the Pickwick and Assembly Rooms.

July 5. In the case of *Argenti vs. The City*, the motion for a discontinuance on the grounds that the suit was an equity suit, and therefore did not come within the jurisdiction of the Superior Court, was denied by Judge Shattuck. The Common Council met in joint convention and listened to the inaugural address of Mayor Van Ness. The case of Samuel Hermann, Esq., charged with an assault upon the French Consul, Mr. Patrick Dillon, was argued before the Recorder.

July 6. Samuel Hermann, Esq., was fined \$25 for striking Consul Dillon. The Sacramento firemen and their friends were sumptuously entertained by M. L. Winn, at his saloon on the Plaza, after which the firemen departed on the boat for Sacramento. The California Guard, Captain Johns, fired a number of guns from Meiggs' Wharf, in the hope of raising the body of Captain Perkins, drowned by the capsizing of the *Jerry Bryant* on the 4th inst. A small tenement on Telegraph Hill, occupied by a Mrs. Laughlin, caught fire and was burned to the ground. A large meeting of citizens was held at the corner of Commercial and Montgomery streets, to devise means for a reduction of the present gas rates, as charged by the San Francisco Gas Company.

July 7. An injunction was filed in the Superior Court against Henry Haskell for refusing to surrender his office and books and papers to James McMinn, recently elected Clerk of the Superior Court in the Charter Election. Mr. Haskell based his refusal on the ground that the term for which he had been elected did not expire until October 15, 1855. The case was dismissed from the Superior Court, and appealed to the Supreme Court. The Society of California Pioneers elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President—Dr. S. R. Harris; Vice-Presidents—H. J. Ellis, John Middleton, and O. P. Sutton, of San Francisco, Jacob P. Leese, Monterey, C. F. Ryland, Santa Clara, George Yount, Napa, C. R. Johnson, Los Angeles, General John A. Sutter, Sutter, H. L. Ford, Colusi, P. B. Cornwall, Sacramento, W. A. Richardson, Marin, Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Purdy, San Joaquin, N. B. Smith, Contra Costa, P. B. Carillo, Santa Barbara, and W. Blackburn, Santa Cruz; Treasurer—G. B. Post; Secretary—Asa B. Perkins; Board of Directors—William T. Sherman, Samuel Brannan, L. R. Lull, Jacob Shew, D. B. Storer, Dr. A. B. Stout, and William C. Hoff.

July 9. Alderman Slocumb was elected President, and Ross A. Fish, Clerk, of the Board of Aldermen, and Henry J. Wells, President, and Robert C. Page, Clerk, of the Board of Assistant Aldermen. Mr. Wells made a very neat and appropriate inaugural address. A frame building on Pacific Street, near Montgomery, was partially consumed by fire.

July 10. The land claim of B. R. Buckelew to Punta de Quintin, Marin County, was confirmed by the U. S. Land Commissioners. The claim embraced two square leagues, including the State Prison lands. George Landrum was tried and found not guilty of the murder of William Bay on the 28th of January last. Mr. J. L. Barbeau, of the Metropolitan Homestead Association, was acquitted of the charge of obtaining money under false pretences. Two persons named Slack and Thornton were shot while attempting to board the British ship *Nazarene*, for the purpose, it was supposed, of decoying some of her crew ashore. The Ladies Protection and Relief Association celebrated its second anniversary. By a report of the Treasurer, it appeared that since July 11, 1854, they had expended a loan of \$2,159.77, and had a balance on hand of \$251.53. A donation of \$1,000 was received from C. K. Garrison, Esq.

July 11. Mr. Edward Vischer filed his petition for the benefit of the Insolvent Act. His liabilities were set down at \$192,056.96, and assets at \$194,595.79. The body of Captain Perkins was found in the water near the Presidio. Mr. Ross A. Fish resigned his office as Clerk of the Board of Aldermen.

July 12. Messrs. Page, Bacon & Co. commenced suit in the Twelfth District Court

against I. C. Woods and A. A. Cohen, charging them with having sold the plaintiffs, at different times, a quantity of gold dust from the Northern mines instead of from the Southern, and claiming damages to the amount of \$400,000. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the accused, and the bail fixed at \$240,000. William H. Stevens was elected Clerk of the Board of Aldermen, *vice* Ross A. Fish, resigned. Madame Anna Bishop commenced a series of operas at the Metropolitan. A judgment was rendered against Marshal North for falsely imprisoning the coachman of J. Hubert Sanders, and damages were assessed at \$500.

July 13. Messrs. Cohen and Woods were arrested at the suit of Page, Bacon & Co., and gave bonds for their appearance. Frederick A. Cohen was arrested for an assault upon T. W. Park, Esq. The assault was caused by statements said to have been made by the latter gentleman regarding A. A. Cohen. Rodman Backus was admitted to bail in the sum of \$5,000, to await a new trial.

July 14. A man named Charles Brown was arrested for committing a violent and bloody assault upon a woman named Mary Wilson, occupying a room on the corner of Clay and Pike streets. The *Sierra Nevada* arrived, bringing news of the death of Achilles Kewen, one of Walker's party, in an engagement against General Bochsa in Nicaragua. The deceased was a brother of E. J. C. Kewen, Esq., of this city, and was much respected. Charges of professional treachery were brought against T. W. Park, Esq., as the attorney of Woods & Haskell and Alvin Adams. Thirty persons died of cholera on board the *Sierra Nevada* during her passage from San Juan.

July 15. A *Folks Fest* was held at Russ's Garden for the benefit of the German Benevolent Society. The Hamburg steamer *Emilie* arrived from Mazatlan, *via* Santa Barbara, the pioneer of a new line of steamers between San Blas and California. She brought news of the total wreck of the clipper ship *Water Witch*, on the 2d ult., near Mazatlan. The steamer *Sea Bird* arrived, bringing news of a tremendous shock of an earthquake at Los Angeles on the 10th of July. A large meeting of the Democracy was held at Seliuppert's Saloon, to devise means for the preservation of the purity of the ballot-box in primary and other elections. Colonel J. W. Walton acted as chairman, and F. Foley, Esq., as secretary. A number of resolutions were passed, expressive of the views and objects of the meeting.

July 16. Mrs. Julia Gould Collins made her first appearance with the Minstrels, as prima donna, in burlesque opera. George H. Wendell was arrested at the suit of C. K. Garrison, Esq., on a charge of stealing a box containing \$40,000 in gold dust from one of the Nicaragua steamships at San Juan del Sud in February last. The *Uncle Sam* left for San Juan, carrying treasure to the value of \$940,038.27.

July 17. The Board of County Supervisors met, and elected J. W. Bagley, Clerk, and Thomas Haet, Keeper of the City Hall. The various committees were appointed by the Mayor. The report of the County Treasurer was received, showing the receipts and expenditures of the office since the County Organization, which were briefly as follows: Receipts for the year ending June 30, 1851, \$119,028.26; 1852, \$128,097.82; 1853, \$314,548.07; 1854, \$421,996.80; 1855, \$442,464.91, making a total for the five years of \$1,426,105.86, and the disbursements for the year 1851, \$118,988.26; 1852, \$120,740.14; 1853, \$293,365.77; 1854, \$390,512.98; 1855, \$471,204.41, making a total for the five years of \$1,394,811.56, leaving a balance of cash on hand of \$31,294.30. The State taxes collected in the County in 1851 were \$137,003.63; 1852, \$102,951.40; 1853, \$93,582.95; 1854, \$210,338.91; 1855, \$291,896.30, making a grand total of \$835,773.19. Of the floating debt of the County, bonds had been issued to the amount of \$98,700, of which \$88,000 had been redeemed at public auction, according to law, for the sum of \$80,804, leaving a balance of bonds outstanding of \$10,700, and the total amount of County indebtedness, including old and new issue, to date, July 17th, was \$437,558.21.

July 18. The French brig *Obligado* arrived from Petropoloski. She left H. B. M. frigate *Trincomalee* at that port, and brought news that the British squadron, consisting of three frigates and three steamers, had entered the Bay of Cevatselea on the 21st of May and found the town completely evacuated by the Russians, only three Americans being in the place. A fire broke out in the steam sawing and planing mill of Benjamin T. Chase, situated in the center of the square bounded by Market, Stevenson, First, and Second streets, and destroyed property to the value of \$38,000. A young man named Walter Gibbons, son of Dr. W. P. Gibbons, was mortally injured by the explosion of a jar of ether in the basement of the drug store of H. Johnson & Co. Judge Norton, of the Twelfth District Court, discharged I. C. Woods and A. A. Cohen from arrest, on the ground that the affidavit of Judge Chambers was a mere matter of personal belief and did not show that the plaintiffs, Page, Bacon & Co., were not aware of the inferior quality of the gold dust offered to them for sale by the accused, and were not buying it for some unknown purpose of their own. The corner stone of the new building of the Monumental Fire Engine Company was laid with appropriate and imposing ceremonies, as was also that of Empire Company, No. 1.

July 19. The committee appointed to investigate the matter of protests in the cases of the members from the Sixth and Fourth wards reported that they could find no just ground why the Alderman of the Fourth Ward, J. W. Brittan, and the Alderman from the Sixth Ward, R. W. Slocomb, were not entitled to their seats. The standing committees of the Board of Aldermen were appointed. In the Board of County Supervisors, a resolution was offered by Mr. Rankin, repealing the order, No. 203, authorizing the purchase of the building in the rear of the City Hall, and instructing the County Auditor to draw no warrants in payment of the same; or if any warrants had been drawn to cancel them without delay. The Settlers of the City and County held a meeting and nominated delegates to represent them in the State Convention. The citizens residing in the upper parts of the Fourth and Sixth wards held a meeting to concoct measures to procure an engine and cisterns for the protection of that portion of the city from fire. A company was organized, officers elected, *pro tempore*, and committees appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting. The bark *Louisiana* arrived from Hong Kong, bringing news of great suffering among the poorer classes of the Chinese, many of whom were dying of starvation, while others escaped a similar fate only by selling their children; also news that piracies were of frequent occurrence in the Chinese Seas. José Leon was arrested for obtaining money by false pretences in forging an order for a package of gold dust in charge of the Pacific Express Company. The new hall of the Pioneer Association in Sacramento was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Captain Joseph L. Folsom died at San Jose of dropsy of the chest.

July 20. A meeting of the commissioned officers of the various military companies was held for the purpose of taking measures to pay a proper tribute of respect to the memory of the late Captain Joseph L. Folsom, and a committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements. A man named Henry Farnhurst was shot and dangerously wounded by the accidental discharge of a pistol in the drinking saloon of J. McEvoy, corner of Market and First streets. McEvoy was arrested and held under bonds in the sum of \$1,000. F. A. Cohen was fined \$300 for his assault and battery upon T. W. Park. A fire broke out in and destroyed the large frame building on the northeast corner of Powell and Filbert streets. The fire spread so rapidly that the inmates barely escaped with their lives, and unfortunately the child of Mr. Durkin perished in the flames.

July 21. Mr. George H. Wendell, accused of robbing the treasure room of the *Sierra Nevada*, and tried before Commissioner Monroe, was discharged on account of insufficiency of evidence. The remains of Joseph L. Folsom arrived in town from San Jose,

per Oakland boat, and were escorted from Vallejo Street Wharf to his late residence in Second Street by a detachment of the First California Guard, detailed for the purpose. The gas consumers of the city held a meeting for the purpose of obtaining a reduction in the present rates. A series of resolutions was passed and a committee appointed to obtain gas at eight dollars per thousand feet, instead of fifteen dollars, as at present charged—a uniform price, and a just and exact measurement thereof. The clipper ship *Sword Fish* arrived, 118 days from New York. McEvoy, who was arrested and detained in custody to await an investigation of the circumstances attending the death of Henry Farnhurst, was acquitted by the Coroner's Jury, who rendered a verdict of accidental death. The Society of California Pioneers met to make arrangements to attend the funeral of their lamented and much respected member, Captain Joseph L. Folsom.

July 22. The U.S. steamship *Massachusetts* arrived from Astoria, and the French frigates *Alceste* and *La Forte*, from Petropolis. The latter reported that the Allied fleet was off Sitka, and that the Russian forces of that place, after destroying the fortifications, had retired to the Amoor River. The remains of Captain Folsom were deposited in the Lone Mountain Cemetery. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. At half past three o'clock in the afternoon, the corpse, placed in a hearse drawn by four gray horses, and escorted by a company of U. S. artillery parading as infantry, under the command of Captain E. D. Keyes, the military companies, and twenty-six pallbearers, was conveyed to Trinity Church, where the "service for the dead" was read by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt. The body was then replaced in the hearse and borne to the grave, in a procession formed as follows: First, Company M, Third Artillery, U. S. A., under the command of Captain E. D. Keyes; the Masonic Fraternity, consisting of the California Lodge of Masons and detachments from other lodges, in full regalia; the hearse, drawn by four gray horses and accompanied by thirteen pallbearers on each side; the Society of California Pioneers; the Marion Rifles, City Guard, San Francisco Blues, National Lancers, Eureka Light-Horse, and First California Guard, with two pieces of artillery; Major General J. E. Wool and staff, and officers of the United States Army and Navy; mourners and citizens. At the tollgate on the Pacific Plank Road, a number of omnibusses were waiting to convey the pallbearers and civic societies to the cemetery, and here the infantry companies left the line and returned to the city. The remainder of the procession, to the sound of mournful music, slowly continued its way to the grave. There the friends and mourners gathered around the last resting place of the departed, and Rev. Mr. Wyatt, assisted by members of the Masonic Fraternity, again performed the funeral ceremonies; the company of U. S. soldiers fired three volleys over the newly heaped mound, the crowd dispersed and left the Croesus of San Francisco to sleep in peace beneath the oak and chaparral of Lone Mountain.

July 23. In the Board of Aldermen, a message was received from the Mayor, inclosing a statement from the late City Treasurer that he had in his hands the property of the city, \$63,166 in cash and \$319,342.82 in notes, upon the latter of which attachments had been placed and not removed; that the city was indebted to him for commissions and advances in the sum of \$19,223.50; and that owing to the condition of his accounts with the city, he declined delivering to his successor the said moneys and notes, as well as the books and papers of the corporation. A joint resolution was passed, empowering the City Attorney to institute proceedings against him for the recovery of the same. An ordinance was passed, appointing Edmund Randolph, G. W. P. Bissell, and Louis McLane as a board of examiners for the funding of the floating debt; each one, within ten days, to furnish bonds, with two sureties, in the sum of \$50,000. The Society of California Pioneers met and passed a series of resolutions expressive of their deep sorrow for the sudden demise of their beloved brother, Joseph Libby Folsom.

July 24. In the Superior Court, Messrs. Page, Bacon & Co. obtained an order enjoining Messrs. Davidson & Co. from paying a certificate of deposit in favor of George H. Wendell for \$3,400, and a check on the Exchange Bank of New York for \$2,600, on the ground that they were proceeds of the robbery of the *Sierra Nevada*, which Wendell was charged with having committed. The Know Nothings elected delegates for a State Convention, to be held on the 7th of August. The French corvette *Eurydice* arrived from Petropoloski. A meeting was held at Musical Hall for the purpose of considering the best means of promoting immigration to this State. It was addressed by Volney E. Howard, Esq., and Messrs. Schoger and Gordon. A number of suggestions and resolutions were adopted, having relation to the furtherance of the objects of the meeting.

July 25. The will of Joseph L. Folsom was filed in the Probate Court. It bequeathed to his mother, Mrs. Mary Gilman, of New Hampshire, an annuity of \$5,000, and all his personal property in equal shares to his mother and sister, Sally T. Forrest. After satisfying said annuity, the deceased had devised all his real estate, two-thirds to his sister, and one-third to his nephew, Gustavus Decatur Folsom. Colonel David S. Turner turned over to his successor, Treasurer McKibben, the books and papers belonging to the Treasurer's office, and \$41,000 out of the \$61,000 in cash remaining from the proceeds of the sale of the fire bonds. He withheld, however, \$20,000 to cover the claim he had against the city for commissions, advances, &c.

July 26. The steamer *Sea Bird* arrived from San Diego, bringing an account of an earthquake which had occurred at Los Angeles on the 10th inst.; it was so severe that the walls of some of the most substantial buildings were riven from top to bottom. At the Mission of San Gabriel, about forty miles from Los Angeles, the shock was so violent that the bells of the church were thrown down and the ground cracked open. Lieutenant Pujol had addressed a proclamation to the citizens of the frontier, assuring them of peace and protection under the Mexican government, and establishing a rule "that no foreigner can enter Lower California without a passport signed by the Mexican Consul in this city." A party was fitting out in Santa Barbara to visit the lower coast of California and islands adjacent for the purpose of pearl fishing.

July 27. H. B. M. flag ship *Monarch*, and the frigate *President*, having on board Admiral Bruce and staff, arrived from Petropoloski. Admiral Bruce had entered Sitka and made an exchange of prisoners—three Russians for one Englishman and one Frenchman. The P. M. steamship *Columbia* arrived from Oregon, confirming the accounts previously received of the richness of the Colville mines. They were said to be the richest yet discovered on the Pacific Coast, covered a large extent of territory, were abundantly supplied with water, and paid at the rate of \$30 to \$100 per day to a man. Gold had also been found on the John Day and Burnt rivers. Major Hartman Bache, of the Topographical Engineers, had been placed in charge of the survey and construction of the military roads in Oregon and Washington territories, and Lieutenant George H. Derby [John Phoenix] was assigned to duty under him. Anderson had been elected Democratic Delegate to Congress from Washington Territory. A large box containing a quantity of lime and the remains of a human being was found in the cellar of the house, corner of California and Leidesdorff streets, formerly occupied by Captain Folsom. The discovery created some excitement and much suspicion; but it was afterwards ascertained that the remains were those of Captain Yanson, an officer killed in a battle with the Indians on the Gila in 1850, and consigned to the care of the late Captain Folsom, subject to the order of his friends in the Atlantic States. A pacing match for \$1000 came off on the Union Course between the horses "Price McGrath" and "Fred Johnson"—mile heats, best three in five, to saddle, carrying 137 pounds—which was won by the former. The British frigate *President* got under way, after firing a federal salute of thirteen guns and displaying the American colors at her peak.

July 28. The P. M. steamship *Golden Gate* arrived, twelve days, seven and a half hours from Panama (twenty-two days, fifteen hours from New York), bringing news of an attempt by the Allies on the 18th of June to storm Sebastopol, of their repulse with loss, and of the recapture by the Russians of the Mamelon Tower. The California Guard, Captain Johns, had a target exercise near the Ocean House. The first prize, worth \$150, was awarded to Private Simmonds; the second, also a gold medal, was won by Private Farwell; the third, by Private Dexter. The leather medal, for the worst shot, was won by Private Johnson. A new military company called the Wallace Guards was organized and its officers elected: Captain, C. E. S. McDonald; First Lieutenant, R. J. McDonald; Second Lieutenant, Fred B. Van Vleck.

July 30. A boy aged seventeen years, named Cornelius Nelson, was drowned by falling from the rear of the second story of Jesse Richardson's boarding house on Jackson Street Wharf. The Board of Examiners of the Funded Debt commenced its session. Edmund Randolph was elected President.

August 1. A man named Farrish, who had seduced a Mrs. Cuberly from the affections of her husband and from her home in Indian Diggings, was shot at the What Cheer House by the injured husband. The latter was arrested, and his case brought before the Mayor, though the former was but slightly wounded. Several gentlemen left in the *Golden Age* for Acapulco with the intention of joining the Revolutionist Party under Alvarez. The P. M. steamship *Golden Age* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the value of \$1,581,576.96; and the Nicaragua steamship *Pacific*, for San Juan, with treasure of the value of \$751,962.98; making a total for the fortnight of \$2,333,539.94.

August 2. The attaching creditors, assignees, and garnishees of Adams & Co. consented in the Fourth District Court to a decree being entered for the administration and apportionment of the assets, and for a reference and accounting, the referee to be appointed by the Court. A man named Bryant attempted to blow up the house of E. L. Ritter & Co., on Washington Street, corner of Jones Alley. He was indebted to these gentlemen in the sum of \$15,000, for which he had given a mortgage, and which having fallen due, the latter had threatened to foreclose. Unable to make any satisfactory arrangement with his mortgagees, he went to their office, and after warning the occupants of his purpose, he deliberately fired a pistol into a carpetbag that he carried with him, and which was filled with gunpowder. The explosion was terrific; but strange to say, although it destroyed furniture and windows, it injured no one so much as himself, his arms, hands, and face being severely burned. The noise attracted a large crowd, an alarm of fire was rung, and the affair created much excitement. Bryant was taken to the Stockton Street Hospital, where his wounds were dressed, and a policeman detailed to keep guard over him until his recovery. A fleet of clipper ships arrived—the *Coeur de Lion*, *War Hawk*, *Look Out*, *Helvetian*, *Ellen Foster*, *Queen of the Seas*, and *Monsoon*.

August 3. A portion of a brick dwelling house on Powell Street, between Washington and Clay, fell with a great crash, over a bank of fifteen feet, into the street. The accident was supposed to have been caused by the excavation of an adjoining lot. The front rooms and the furniture in them were mostly destroyed, the damage being estimated at about \$3,000. The Backus Minstrels, assisted by the San Francisco Minstrels, had a farewell benefit at the Metropolitan Theater, prior to their departure for Australia. The house was crowded from pit to ceiling. Hubbard Hastings, accused of being an active member of the mob that hanged two Frenchmen at San Antonio some months ago on suspicion of cattle stealing, was brought before Judge Freelon on a writ of habeas corpus and denied bail by that magistrate.

August 4. The steamer *Sea Bird* arrived from San Diego, bringing news of the

arrival at that place of the surveying corps under the charge of Charles H. Poole, Esq., after having completed the survey of the third and fourth standard parallels, to the east line of the State, and the township lines between them. Two distinct earthquake shocks had been felt at Santa Barbara, of sufficient violence to shake the walls of the houses and cause for a time general consternation. Lower California was in a state of perfect tranquillity. An affray had occurred at the Mission San Gabriel, which resulted in three men being shot and severely wounded. The San Francisco Blues returned from their excursion for target practice at San Jose. The first prize, a gold medal, was won by C. P. Marshal; the second, \$100, by James Henslier; the third, a gold eagle, by William Ross; the fourth, a suit of clothes, by Jacob Lennan; the fifth, a silver cup, by J. McCormick; the sixth, a mammoth bouquet, by Edward Reynolds. Hon. C. K. Garrison was elected President of the Sacramento Valley Railroad Co., in place of Captain J. L. Folsom, deceased. Mr. John Tabor, of the *Evening News*, received so severe an injury in his left hand, from the accidental discharge of a pistol, as to require the amputation of its middle finger. A small frame building on Stockton Street, between Sutter and Post, was consumed by fire, and a woman named Mulqueen and a man named Haddin were burned to death. The dead body of Amos Barrett, late agent of Wells, Fargo & Co. at Jackson, was found in a room at Wilson's Exchange. Various papers found upon his person explained to some extent the mystery of his death, and it was believed that he was impelled to the act of suicide by a paragraph which appeared in one of the interior papers, reflecting upon his character.

August 6. The will of J. L. Folsom, deceased, was admitted to probate, and letters testamentary ordered to issue to the executors, W. W. Halleck, A. C. Peachy, and P. W. Van Winkle, their bonds being fixed at \$250,000 each. Robert C. Rodgers, Esq., was appointed attorney for absent heirs, and Messrs. C. Patterson, A. Pollard, and W. C. Parker were appointed to make an appraisal of the estate. The U. S. sloop of war *Decatur* arrived in the harbor from Puget Sound. The Young Men's Christian Association celebrated their second anniversary at the First Congregational Church. There was a voluntary upon the organ, and excellent singing by a well-trained choir. Selections from the Bible were read, and appropriate psalms were sung. The president read a report upon the condition of the affairs of the society, and Dr. Scott delivered a very eloquent and appropriate address; afterwards the following gentlemen were elected officers: President, William G. Badger; Vice-Presidents, J. P. Cogswell, Abel Whitton, George Tail, Israel W. Knox, and W. P. Tilden; Recording Secretary, E. W. Playter; Corresponding Secretary, Josiah Bacon; Treasurer, Albert Miller; Librarian, L. P. Fisher. A party of Mexicans attacked the village of Rancheria, in Amador County, murdered four Americans, one lady and one Indian, mortally wounded two others, broke open the safe of Mr. French, one of the murdered men, robbed it of \$7,000, and made their escape to parts unknown. The sheriff of the county, accompanied by about a thousand citizens of Jackson and the neighborhood, started in pursuit. Thirty-six Mexicans were captured, three of whom, named Peterviué, Francolino, and José, were found guilty of murder and hanged on the celebrated tree at Jackson. While their trial was being conducted, the mob burned the Spanish dance house at Rancheria and every other Spanish house in the place. A resolution was passed that thereafter no Mexican should reside there, and it was determined to drive all the Mexicans and Chileans out and burn their camps.

August 7. The dwelling house, stables, and outbuildings of Herrick's milk ranch, situated on the line of Clay Street, west of Larkin, were consumed by fire. H. B. M. flagship *Monarch*, Admiral Bruce, sailed out of the harbor after firing a parting salute. The Know Nothing convention convened its session in Sacramento. James W. Coffroth was elected President, A. Means and seventeen others, Vice-Presidents. A platform,

somewhat modified from that of the order in the transmountain states to adapt it to California, was adopted. Alexander S. Taylor, Esq., of Monterey, was appointed a Commissioner of the U. S. District Court by Judge McAllister. At Mud Springs, Mr. Asa Leveridge was instantaneously killed by the explosion of a boiler in his steam sawmill. Mr. E. W. Stone, the engineer, was also severely injured.

August 8. By the Know Nothings, in convention at Sacramento, Colonel J. Neely Johnson was nominated for Governor; Hugh C. Murray renominated for Judge of the Supreme Court, long term, and David S. Terry, for the short term; and R. M. Anderson, for Lieutenant-Governor.

August 9. In the Twelfth District Court, Messrs. Page, Bacon & Co. filed an additional count, by way of amendment to the original complaint against Woods & Cohen for selling them inferior gold dust, charging that the sales were effected by accomplices in the disguise of miners. The State Temperance Committee met in Sacramento and passed a resolution to the effect that if the words "Prohibitory Liquor Law" are not printed on the ticket to be circulated at the next general election, the friends of Temperance throughout the State are requested to write them in, followed by the word "yes." The Know Nothing Convention completed its nominations for State officers, and adjourned *sine die*. The Settlers' Convention met in Sacramento; made no nominations, but passed resolutions that that body should not be committed to the election of any of the nominees of any other convention, and that it would not support for any office, either executive, judicial, legislative, or ministerial, any man who did not pledge himself to the administration of equal and exact justice to the settlers and miners of California, and who had not by previous act and deed proved the sincerity of such pledge. The Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company had an election of officers and elected H. A. Cobb, Foreman.

August 11. The Nicaragua steamship *Uncle Sam* arrived, bringing detailed accounts of the attack of the Allies upon Sebastopol, and intelligence of the death of Lord Raglan; also of the capture of San Juan del Sud, in Nicaragua, by Walker and his men. The Sacramento County Democratic Convention met and nominated William S. Long for the Senate, and Daniel J. Thomas and David Higgins for the Assembly. The opposition steamboat, *Surprise*, having made the quickest trip on record between the cities of San Francisco and Sacramento, it was agreed that there should be no more racing between her and her rival boats upon the river—an agreement highly satisfactory to the traveling public. A fire destroyed three wooden buildings on the north side of Sacramento Street, above Dupont, occupied as stores by Chinese. The loss was estimated at \$3,000. A Turk named Yousef Bey and a Frenchman named Dusu Zeau were arrested on a charge of manufacturing spurious gold dust, and were fully committed for trial before the Court of Sessions. It transpired that I. C. Woods had quietly departed on the 9th inst., in the ship *Audubon*, for Australia. He left, however, a card, which was published in the papers, stating that he was going to New York with the hope of being able to make certain arrangements which would result to the advantage of his creditors.

August 12. The steamship *Columbia* arrived from Oregon, bringing further accounts of the Colville Mines, by which it appeared that, although not as good as at first reported, they would yield good wages to the industrious miner.

(To be continued)

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ANDREWS, PHILIP

Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. 38 pp., ills., folding map. University of California Publications, Bulletin of the Department of Geological Sciences, Vol. 24, No. 1.

CALIFORNIANS INC.

The chapter in your life entitled San Francisco: some notes of introduction, together with 81 photographs. San Francisco: Californians Inc., 1936. Unpaged.

CHAMBERLAIN, NEWELL D.

The call of gold: true tales on the gold road to Yosemite. Illustrated. Mariposa: Gazette Press, c. 1936. xii, 183 pp.

CHASE, AMANDA M., [comp.]

California school yesterdays: the second historical yearbook of the California Retired Teachers' Association. California Retired Teachers' Association, c. 1935. 100 pp., ills.

COBLENTZ, STANTON A.

Villains and vigilantes: the story of James King of William and pioneer justice in California. New York: Wilson-Erickson, Incorporated, 1936. xi, 261 pp., incl. index and bibliog., ills.

DANA, JULIAN

The man who built San Francisco: a study of Ralston's journey with banners. Illustrations by Wm. Ernest Rideout. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. xiii, 397 pp., incl. index.

DANA, RICHARD HENRY, JR.

Two years before the mast: a personal narrative of life at sea. New York: Random House, 1936. viii, 464 pp., illustrated by reproductions of contemporary lithographs of the period. Printed by the Grabhorn Press.

DELANO, ALONZO

A sojourn with royalty and other sketches by "Old Block." Collected and edited by G. Ezra Dane. Foreword by Edmund G. Kinyon. Illustrated by Charles Lindstrom. San Francisco: George Fields, 1936. xii, 96 pp. Printed by the Grabhorn Press.

DOBIE, CHARLES CALDWELL

San Francisco's Chinatown. Illustrated by E. H. Suydam. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. xv, 336 pp., incl. index and bibliog.

EVANS, JOHN HENRY

Charles Coulson Rich: pioneer builder of the West. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. xix, 400 pp., incl. index and bibliog., ills. [Includes the story of the Mormon settlement in San Bernardino Valley.]

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

GENTHE, ARNOLD

As I remember. With one hundred and twelve photographic illustrations by the author. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, c. 1936. xiv, 290 pp., incl. index.

GUDDE, ERWIN G.

Sutter's own story: the life of General John Augustus Sutter and the history of New Helvetia in the Sacramento Valley. Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936. x, 244 pp. [This volume, based upon Sutter's reminiscences dictated at the instance of the historian, Bancroft, and until now in MS, is a noteworthy addition to Sutteriana. Dr. Gudde's presentation of Sutter's own story will help to clarify a subject which such books as Cendrars' *Sutter's Gold* have so hopelessly muddled.]

KELLY, CHARLES

Old Greenwood: the story of Caleb Greenwood, trapper, pathfinder, and early pioneer of the West. Photographs by Edgar M. Ledyard and the author. Salt Lake City: Western Printing Company, 1936. 132 pp., incl. index and bibliog.

MENSCH, E. CROMWELL

The Golden Gate Bridge: a technical description in ordinary language. San Francisco: E. Cromwell Mensch, c. 1935. 64 pp., ill.

—The San Francisco Oakland Bay Bridge: a technical description in ordinary language. San Francisco: E. Cromwell Mensch, c. 1936. 64 pp., ill.

QUIETT, GLENN CHESNEY

Pay dirt: a panorama of American gold-rushes. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. xxv, 506 pp., incl. index and bibliog.

SULLIVAN, MAURICE S.

Jedediah Smith, trader and trail breaker. Foreword and notes by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Illustrated by Howard Simon. New York: Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1936. xvi, 233 pp., incl. index.

TABER, LOUISE E.

California Gold Rush days: stories from the radio series broadcast by Louise E. Taber. Vol I, No. 2. San Francisco: Louise E. Taber, c. 1936. 55 pp., ill. [Includes twelve true stories, a tourist guide map of the Mother Lode, and the strange career of Black Bart, bandit.]

TAYLOR, MRS. H. J.

Yosemite Indians and other sketches. San Francisco: Johnck & Seeger, 1936. viii, 103 pp., ill. [Includes sketches of James C. Lamon, James Mason Hutchings, Galen Clark, John Muir, and early artists in Yosemite.]

WELLS, EVELYN

Fremont Older. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. xii, 407 pp., incl. index, ill.

WYATT, ROSCOE D.

Names and places of interest in San Mateo County, with pronunciation, history, and traditions. Redwood City: San Mateo Title Company, for the San Mateo County Historical Association, c. 1936. 30 pp., ill.

THE ARGONAUT

Weekly issues contain: "Life in Early California," by Franciscoer.

CALIFORNIA AND WESTERN MEDICINE

October, 1936, contains: "The Lure of Medical History—California's First Medical Survey: Report of Surgeon-General José Benites," trans. by Sherburne F. Cook.

CALIFORNIA MAGAZINE OF PACIFIC BUSINESS

October, 1936, contains: "Beginnings of Power."

THE CALIFORNIAN (Carmel newspaper)

Weekly issues contain a column entitled "Californiana from Old Files and Other Sources."

THE CALL-BULLETIN (San Francisco newspaper)

Contains a daily series of "San Francisco Firsts," compiled by members of the WPA Federal Writers' Project.

THE GRIZZLY BEAR

September, 1936, contains: "Oakland and Alameda County Have Come into Their Own—on the Map," by Rev. Thos. J. McKeon. October, 1936, contains: "Forty-Niner Pastimes," by Margaret Scheiber. September, October, and November, 1936, contain: "California Fifty Years Ago," by Thomas W. McAuliffe.

MOTORLAND

September-October, 1936, contains: "Landmarks Tell of California's Romantic Past."

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

September, 1936, contains: "The Coming of the White Women, Part II," by T. C. Elliott; "Medical Education of Dr. Whitman," by Frederick C. Waite; "Whitman: The Good Doctor," and "An Additional Note on Some Early Oregon Physicians," by O. Larsell; "The Protestant Ladder," by Nellie B. Pipes; "Letters of Charles Stevens, Part II," ed. by E. Ruth Lockwood.

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

September, 1936, contains: "California Anti-Chinese Legislation and the Federal Courts: A Study in Federal Relations," by Elmer C. Sandmeyer; "William McGarrahan's 'Panoche Grande Claim,'" by Robert J. Parker; "Journal of Tomás de Suria of his Voyage with Malaspina to the Northwest Coast of America in 1791," ed. and trans. by Henry R. Wagner.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY

October, 1936, contains: "The Steamer Beaver," ed. by Ronald Todd; "The Reminiscences of Murdoch M. McPherson (cont. from July issue)," ed. by Harold C. Vedder; "Asa Shinn Mercer, Pioneer in Western Publicity," ed. by Charles W. Smith.

PONY EXPRESS COURIER

- 1 September and October, 1936, contain: "The Epic of Greater America," by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton. September, 1936, contains: "Judge William B. Almond," by George J. Remsburg; "Tahoe: The Lake of Dreams," by Frances Fairchild; "Early Theatricals in Placerville," by Lois M. Foster; "Odd Place-Names of El Dorado County, California," by Will O. Upton; "Tom Bell, the Gentleman Highwayman," by Harry L. Wells; "Story of Jim Mun," (cont. from August issue); "History of Hardy's Books Store"; "California Landmarks," by E. D. Holden. October, 1936, contains: "A City for All," by Charles Caldwell Dobie; "Caleb Greenwood: Trapper, Trailblazer, Pioneer," by Charles Kelly; "The Vanished Indian Mound of Alameda," by Edna Louise Heyn. November, 1936, contains: "Frank Harris in California," by Joseph Henry Jackson; "The Naming of Death Valley," by E. A. Brininstool; "John Studebaker: His Sojourn in Hangtown, California, Where He Began His Career," by Will O. Upton; "The Early Drama in California," and "A Stage Ride in 1880," by Harry L. Wells.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC BULLETIN

August, 1936, contains: "Birthday: Railroad That is Now Southern Pacific Was Founded by Small Town Merchants 75 Years Ago." September, 1936, contains:

"Grapes: Oldest of Domestic Fruits Has Become One of California's Famous and Spectacular Industries." November, 1936, contains: "Mammoth: San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge Will Open to Motor Traffic Nov. 12; Bay Cities to Celebrate."

WESTWAYS

September, 1936, contains: "Ralph Keeler; Literary Vagabond," by Franklin Walker; "To Mrs. Sandy Bowers (after a visit to the Bowers Mansion near Reno, Nev., built in 1861)," by Betty L. Whitsell; "Steamboat Master on the Sacramento," by Idwal Jones; "First Through the Valley of Death," from *Death Valley in '49*, by William L. Manly. October, 1936, contains: "Our Community Property System—A Heritage from Spain," by Allen Herrick; "Pioneer Ferries within the Golden Gate," by Idwal Jones; "The Hanging of Señora A. . .," from *California From the Conquest in 1846, to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character*, by Josiah Royce; "Stone Whales from Santa Barbara's Beach," by John L. Von Blon; "Berkeley and the Bishop for Whom It Was Named," by Carl Holliday; "Famous Herbs of the Early Pioneers," by Paul D. Barnes. November, 1936, contains: "The Essence of the '49ers," from *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government*, by Charles Howard Shinn; "Dennis Kearney on the Sand-Lots," by Oliver Carlson; "Ursus, or the Past of California Bears," by Chester Stock; "The Golden Butte," by Itineratus.

BOOK REVIEW

AN EDITOR ON THE COMSTOCK LODGE. By Wells Drury. New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936. xx+343 pp., including index; illus., map.

Bonanza kings and minions, politicians, gamblers, gun-fighters, stage-drivers and stage-robbers, and a motley array of camp followers, people the pages of this book by Wells Drury, whose business was to know them all. His narrative is full of anecdotes about these picturesque characters who enlivened Virginia City and Gold Hill, Nevada, during the Big Bonanza boom of the seventies.

John Mackay (whom he so greatly admired), James G. Fair, William Sharon, Adolph Sutro, John P. Jones, and other notables are duly included in the story, but most attention is devoted to "the little people" who made up the bulk of this mining community. Thus a cross section of life on the Comstock is presented which is not one-sided, and therein lies much of the historic interest of the book. Needles the Tragedian, vagrant saloon entertainer; Mrs. Sandy Bowers, clairvoyant, known to many readers by her maiden name of Eilly Orrum; Colonel K. B. Brown, Chief of the Virginia City Fire Department; and Hank Monk, stage-driver, are among the colorful figures introduced.

A record of the lively journalism on the Comstock Lode is given, with glimpses of Dan De Quille, Steve Gillis, Sam Davis, Arthur McEwen, Alf Doten, Rollin Daggett, Harry Mighels, Charles C. Goodwin, Joseph Goodwin, "Lying Jim" Townsend, "Semblens" Forbes and other remarkable editors. Included, too, are stories that Steve Gillis told about his friend, Mark Twain, whose sojourn on the Lode was some years earlier.

Carson City and other old-time Nevada communities are given considerable attention. Several chapters tell about the wild camp of Candelaria, where the author dwelt for some months after the decline of the Comstock Lode. Frequent references are made also to bold, bad Bodie, just over the line in California. Milton Sharp, bandit, robbed many stages in that region, and Wells Drury "interviewed" him after his capture in November, 1880.

An appendix to the book contains extracts from Comstock newspapers in the seventies, and includes also an account of the visit of John Studebaker to old Hangtown (Placerville, California), replete with pioneer reminiscences. The foreword to the book was written by Mrs. Wells Drury, herself a Nevada pioneer. Photographs characteristic of the Big Bonanza period are the illustrations.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

"East Looks West: The Manila Galleon a Factor in the Spanish Colonial Trade" was the subject on which Mr. Lauro A. de Rojas spoke at the Society's luncheon meeting on Tuesday, September 29, 1936. Thirty members and guests were present.

Mr. Rojas traced the history of the Manila trade across the "Spanish Lake" over a period of two hundred and fifty years, from the first little four-hundred-ton ship in which Legazpi, in 1564, sailed north to pick up the Japanese current to help him cross to the coast of New Spain, to 1817, when the last galleon, a vessel of well over a thousand tons, entered Acapulco, the official port. California came into the story when, during the early period of this trade, exploring expeditions were sent out from Mexico to discover possible harbors in Upper California where the galleons might stop for fresh water and refitting. Later on, when royal decrees strictly regulated the cargoes which might be landed at Acapulco, smugglers found California settlements likely outlets for their contraband: in fact, of one California family of merchants it was said that they were the first to "make smuggling an art." Pirates, of course, found the rich cargoes of the galleons a great lure, but fairly successful protection was set up by a system of sea scouts sent out from New Spain. The end of the Manila trade came after Charles III of Spain issued a decree removing all restrictions from American ports, and the industrial revolution in Europe flooded American markets with cheaper goods. The galleons continued to sail from Manila, but their importance as a trade factor had declined.

At the Society's luncheon meeting on Tuesday, October 20, 1936, Hon. Charles R. Boden, Judge of the San Francisco Municipal Court, gave a talk on the Broderick-Terry duel. Forty-six members and guests were present.

Two men, both having suffered the disappointments and frustrations of political failure, were egged on by their "super-serviceable" friends into fighting a duel for which neither of them had much stomach. After the election of 1859, Terry insisted on making a speech accusing the faction which had defeated him of being "the personal chattels of a single individual," of belonging "heart and soul, body and breeches, to David C. Broderick." The next morning, Broderick was overheard by a friend of Terry's saying: "I have said that I considered him the only honest man on the supreme bench, but I now take it all back." This was the provocation that led Terry to demand satisfaction. The duel was fought, and Broderick mortally wounded. On his death bed, he said: "They killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and the corruption of justice." Terry was tried and acquitted in Marin County. The duel resulted in post-mortem martyrdom for Broderick, and aroused such a hatred for Terry

in San Francisco that he was forced to retire to Stockton. Judge Boden read the cartel setting forth the conditions under which the duel was to have been fought, and over which there has since been dispute as to whether they were faithfully carried out. He illustrated his talk with slides showing the people involved, scenes in San Francisco at the time Broderick and Terry were residents, and the markers which have been placed on the site of the duel.

Professor Eugen Neuhaus spoke on "Some Pioneer Artists of California" at the Society's luncheon meeting on Tuesday, November 17, 1936. Twenty-eight members and guests were present.

Professor Neuhaus commented on the chief differences in the early development of art on the Atlantic and the Pacific Coast. Whereas in the East, the earliest artists were mainly the so-called "limners," men of other professions or trades who had taken to painting in answer to the demand for portraiture, on this Coast the pioneer artists were men who had come with a background of European study and training. In the East, also, the first painters were almost exclusively of British, Germanic, or Scandinavian origins, but the provenance of our Western artists was of a far more international character. The speaker noted briefly the careers and work of outstanding painters, such as Bierstadt, Hill, Moran, and others, and spoke more fully on Charles Christian Nahl. His article on the latter will be found elsewhere in this number of the *Quarterly*.

The above meetings were all held at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel.

LAURA R. WHITE.

In Memoriam

FLORIDE GREEN

1863-1936

Miss Floride Green, who died at the Dante Sanitarium on October 24, 1936, was born in Mobile, Alabama, in 1863, the daughter of Lieutenant Duff Green, Jr., and Rebecca Pickens Green. Through her father, she was descended from both the Marshall and Washington families of Virginia, and on her mother's side, from prominent families in South Carolina and Alabama. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Duff Green, Jr., resigned his army commission to serve with the Confederate Army, and lost his life toward the end of the War. In 1872, Mrs. Green brought her three children to Stockton, where many Southerners had settled, and where her brothers were located. The brothers had a reputation as tremendous talkers: it was said the "Pickens boys" could be heard talking for miles across the plains

from their bachelor quarters, which they called "The Cradle of Innocence." The family moved to San Francisco, where Mrs. Green worked for a time in the U. S. Branch Mint, which, because of the many refugee Southerners employed there, was often spoken of as "The Virginia Poorhouse." Floride Green attended the Valencia Street School in San Francisco, and was later graduated from the high school at St. Helena, at which time she first met Mrs. Lillie Hitchcock Coit. Miss Green taught school in San Francisco for many years. Photography became her hobby, and after a trip in Europe with Mrs. Coit, she returned to New York and built up a successful photographic business, specializing in portraits of mothers and children taken in their homes. Coming back to San Francisco because of her mother's illness, she soon established herself in the same business in this city, where she also did fine work in photographing old portraits. She later went into insurance brokerage, in which she continued until her fatal illness. When Mrs. Coit returned to San Francisco, the friendship was renewed, and after her death, Miss Green wrote the book, *Some Personal Recollections of Lillie Hitchcock Coit*-s.

Despite protracted illnesses, which she fought with a cheerful and indomitable courage, Floride Green took part in many public interests and led a most active life. She was known throughout a wide circle of friends for her hospitality, and was famous for her many old-time Southern recipes. She took a keen interest in California history, and at the time of her last illness was working over Mrs. Coit's diaries. She was a member of the Daughters of the Confederacy, the Women's City Club, and the California Historical Society. Miss Green is survived by a nephew, Mr. Edward B. Noble, of this city, and a niece, Mrs. Cara Kohnk, of Hamburg, Germany.

LAWRENCE STRASSBURGER

1882-1936

The sudden passing of Lawrence Strassburger at the age of fifty-four came as a surprise to financial circles with which he was identified for years. He was playing golf at the Beresford Country Club on August 29 when he was stricken with a heart attack. Until then his health had been of the best.

Mr. Strassburger was born in San Francisco, November 26, 1882. He attended San Francisco public schools, the Belmont Preparatory School, and after graduating from Stanford University in 1904, he entered the pioneer firm of Strassburger & Company, founded in 1883 by Isaac Strassburger, his father, who today is the only living charter member of the San Francisco Stock Exchange.

Lawrence Strassburger was the first local stock exchange broker to become a member of the New York Stock Exchange. He was popular in the social

world, active in civic affairs, and sought after in business life because of his knowledge of financial and investment problems. Those who knew him, characterize him as kindly, with an unusual manner of approach, and possessing a magnetic personality. He was always interested in Californiana and accumulated a splendid library on California history.

Mr. Strassburger is survived by his wife, the former Helene Levy; two daughters, Betty Ann and Fay; his father, Isaac Strassburger; and two sisters, Mrs. J. D. Lederman and Mrs. Newton H. Neustadter. He was a member of the Beresford Country Club, Olympic Club, and California Historical Society.

EDGAR M. KAHN

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to November 30, 1936

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Bennett, John E., *The great cycle*, S. F., 1918; Bonner, T. D., *Life and adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, L. A., c. 1932; Genthe, Arnold, *As I remember*, N. Y., c. 1936; Grant, Ethel W. M., Herford, Oliver, and Mizner, Addison, *The quite new cynic's calendar of revised wisdom for 1908*, S. F., Paul Elder and Company, c. 1907; Miller, Joaquin, *Songs of the soul*, S. F., 1896; Muir, John (ed), *Picturesque California*, Sections 1-10, c. 1887-88, India proof edition; Richardson, Leon J., *Arrows and driftwood*, University of California Extension Division, 1936; Sterling, George, *The testimony of the suns and other poems*, S. F., 1903 (autog.); Wells, Evelyn, *Fremont Older*, N. Y., 1936; Wyatt, Roscoe D., *Names and places of interest in San Mateo County*, Redwood City, c. 1936; and others.

From MRS. WELLS DRURY—Drury, Wells, *An editor on the Comstock Lode*, N. Y., 1936.

From MISS ELIZABETH FUSELMAN—Torrey, Frederic C., *Sierra bird notes*, Berkeley, 1935

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.—*Annual Reports of the Police Department of the City and County of San Francisco for the years ending June 30, 1909, 1910, and 1911.*

From MR. ERNEST C. MENSCH—Mensch, E. Cromwell, *The Golden Gate Bridge*, S. F., c. 1935; idem, *The San Francisco Oakland Bay Bridge*, S. F., c. 1936.

From G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS—Gudde, Erwin G., *Sutter's own story*, N. Y., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936.

From MRS. DANIEL A. RYAN—Meddaugh & Chapman (pubs.), *Ruins of San Francisco, April 18, 1906*, Watsonville, c. 1906; Balloon Route Publishing Co., *San Francisco before and after the great earthquake, April 18, 1906*, L. A. [1906].

From MISS LOUISE E. TABER—*California Gold Rush days*, Vol. I, No. 2.

From MRS. H. J. TAYLOR—Taylor, Mrs. H. J., *Yosemite Indians and other sketches*, S. F., Johnck & Seeger, 1936.

From VON BOECKMANN-JONES COMPANY—*Our Catholic heritage in Texas*, Vols. I and II, Austin, Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1936.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Malaspina, Alejandro, *La vuelta al mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida*, Madrid, 1885.

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—*Golden jubilee souvenir of the Sisters of Mercy*, S. F. [1904].

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Holladay, S. W., *Open letter of, to his fellow citizens*, S. F., August, 1898.

From MRS. FREDERICK W. ZEILE—Chase, Amanda M., *California school yesterdays*, Retired Teachers' Association, 1935.

PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Colored reproduction of "Gethsemane," by William Keith; photograph of Arthur F. Matthews and his class of students in 1886; 18 photos of earthquake and fire scenes in San Francisco, 1906, by Arnold Genthe; photograph of Golden Gate Bridge at sunset, by Gabriel Moulin.

From MR. E. A. BURBANK—Two printed copies of a drawing by E. A. Burbank showing the site of the Golden Gate International Exposition, the Golden Gate Bridge, and the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

From MRS. REBECCA CHAMBERS—Photograph of Miss Floride Green, taken by herself in 1890.

From MRS. FLORENCE G. DONNELLY—Photograph of John Joseph Conmy, an early resident of Weaverville, California.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Three photographs of the city hall at Benicia (the former State Capitol) and the bench and tablet erected in honor of the pioneers of Benicia.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Engraved portrait of Sir Francis Drake (from the plate believed to have been made by Judocus Hondius before 1594, but worked over by George Vertue c. 1725).

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—Stereoscopic view of ruins of San Francisco, 1906, from Howard and 7th streets.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Seven stereoscopic views of Woodward's Gardens and one of Chinese Joss House, San Francisco.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Several items pertaining to the celebration of the opening of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, November 11-14, 1936.

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—Section of rubber hose used by San Francisco Fire Department in 1870; calling cards of Lillie W. Hitchcock and Charles M. Hitchcock, M. D.; photograph of Lillie Hitchcock's complimentary ticket to the anniversary ball of the Warren Engine Co. No. 1, Carson City, N. T., June 18, 1864.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.—Hand-made iron nails used on El Carbonera Rancho, Santa Cruz County.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Album of Cutler McAllister, containing photographs, autographs, dance invitations, etc., 1854-57.

From MISS SALLIE MAYNARD—Scrapbook kept by John C. Maynard in the 1870's and early 1880's.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Poster, "Remember the Maine," c. 1898 by H. S. Crocker Co.

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

The question has often been asked, "What service does the California Historical Society offer to its members and to visitors who call at its quarters?" Until March of this year, no attempt had been made either to make a count of those calling at the Society's rooms or to list the subjects concerning which information was desired. Since that time, however, each person, member or visitor, has been given a card upon which to fill out his name, address, and the object of his search. Casual visitors, seeking no definite information, but merely interested in viewing the Society's exhibits, were not so counted. Therefore, to the figures given below there must be added an indefinite number of persons, more than twice as large as those here recorded. In addition to actual callers, requests for information on historical subjects have been received by letter and by telephone. In all instances, the Society's staff has either provided the answer to the query, giving volume and page of the source consulted, or has assisted the research worker by supplying the source material from the library and suggesting methods of arriving at the results desired. In the very few instances where the information requested could not be supplied from our own collections, the inquirer was referred either to one of the State's great libraries, such as the Bancroft, the Huntington, Stanford University's, the San Francisco Public and the California State Library, or to some individual known to be an authority on the subject. It is pleasing to note the increasing number of acknowledgments in books recently published by which the authors have given due credit to the Society for information and assistance received. During the period under consideration, many of the inquirers have been engaged upon WPA projects, and most of these have made numerous visits. Had a card been filled out each time they called, the numbers given below would be greatly increased, but account has been made only of their initial visit or succeeding visits on which they took up totally new subjects for research. Again, there have been cases when the staff was so busily engaged with the requests of a number of visitors, that one or two of such a group left without filling out a card. The numerical count was as follows:

Inquiries made in person	346
Inquiries made by letter	67
Inquiries made by telephone	68
Total	481

An analysis of the cards reveals many interesting sidelights, and likewise shows the wide range of information requested and supplied. Heading the list are the requests for biographical data. Historical data about San Fran-

cisco comes next in order, closely followed by historical data on other localities in California, the two groups being almost equally divided. Information about manuscripts, books, journals, and newspapers, including their authors and editors, constitute a formidable group, while historical events, factual or legendary, rank high in the list. Immigration information was desired by many, one or more requests being made under each of the following sub-headings: Syrian, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, German, and Jewish. Early artists, actors, theaters, and the drama form a category in which many were interested. Transportation, such as shipping, railroads, pack-mule trains, and aerial transport all came in for research. All phases of Indian life were investigated. The California Missions and the Vigilance Committees vie for honors for the next place on the list. Celebrations, costumes, California place names, and coins wind up the segregation of the inquiries, with a residue of perhaps a dozen unclassifiable requests. Exclusive of all the above groups, and topping the largest of them, were requests for maps, paintings, prints, and museum objects, which were desired for purposes of illustration or to supplement the inquirer's reading. Were they to be classified otherwise, they would no doubt fall into about the same groupings. Among the specific requests were the following which merit mention: oyster pirates, early methods of supplying ice in San Francisco, historic trees, industrial history of South San Francisco, "Hermitic Brotherhood" of Mt. Shasta, folklore and folkways in Marin County, adobe houses, murders near Colfax, a toll road and a lost river in Shasta County, first woman graduate in California, a miner's cradle, and medical fees in San Francisco in 1850.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Bynum, Lindley	Pasadena	Mr. George E. Dane
Clausen, Miss Mabel	Pasadena	Mr. H. R. Wagner
Clinkenbeard, Dan I.	Oakland	Milton H. Shutes, M.D.
Giffen, Guy J.	La Canada	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Mensch, Ernest C.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
McNitt, Rollin L.	Los Angeles	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Mitchell, Standish L.	Los Angeles	Mr. Phil Townsend Hanna

INDEX

California Historical Society
Quarterly

Volume XV

1936

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SAN FRANCISCO

In this Index, illustrations have been indicated by printing the page numbers in black-faced type. The titles of articles printed in the *Quarterly* have also been set in black-faced type. Abbreviations have been used as follows: Co. = county or company; corres. = correspondence; ed. = editor or edited; opp. = opposite; L. A. = Los Angeles; S. F. = San Francisco; Vig. Com. = Vigilance Committee.

INDEX TO VOLUME FIFTEEN

- Abella, Padre Ramon, 215, 339.
 Acapulco, 225, 382.
 Ackerson, Charles H., Chief Engineer, S. F. Fire Dept., 313, 322; report, 314.
 Adams, Alvin, 371.
 Adams, F., of San Francisco, 164.
 Adams, J. H., of Marysville, 29, 51.
 Adams & Co., 169, 177, 185, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 279, 368, 375
 Addis, John, of San Francisco, 179.
 Addison, Gen. John E., 173-74.
 Adobe bricks and buildings, 89-90.
 Agriculture, 235; nr. Marysville, 51, 52-53.
 Agua Caliente, in La Palma canyon, 107, 132, 134.
 Aguiar, Capt. Salvador, 359, 360, 361.
 Aguilar, José Maria, 356.
 Aguirre, José Antonio, 128, 138.
 Alameda, and Alameda Co., 380.
 Alba, Manuel de, surgeon, 347, 348.
 Alder Gulch (Virginia City), Montana, 324.
 Aldrich, Louis, 202.
 Allen, Gen. James, 152, 153, 273; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 154.
 Allen, Commodore Theodore H., 177.
 Almond, Judge William B., 380.
 Altrocchi, Julia Cooley (Mrs. Rudolph), book by, noted, 100, 187.
 Alum, found near Napa, 235.
 Alvarado, Gov. Juan B., 115, 116, 117-18, 119, 126, 130, 135-36, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 238, 240, 241, 339, 340, 352, 353, 354, 355, 361, 362; letter of, to M. G. Vallejo, 341-42.
 Alvarado Revolution, 114-18, 242, 338-63.
 Alviso, Francisco Javier, 134.
 Alviso, Ignacio, 134.
 Alviso, Nicolás, 114, 120, 134.
 Amador County, 376.
 Amy, John, of Marysville, 29.
 Anderson, David C., actor, 169.
 Anderson, R. M., Know Nothing candidate, 377.
 Anderson, William, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Angel Island, 165.
 Angel's Camp, fire at, 368.
 Anza, Juan Bautista de, 59, 189.
 Argenti, Felix, 186, 367, 370.
 Arguello, Gov. José, 140.
 Armstrong, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Armstrong, Thomas, artist, 54.
 Arrillaga, Gov. José Joaquin, 59, 60.
 Art and artists, 170, 172, 183, 213-15, 276, 283, 286, 295-305, 379, 383.
 Arthur, J. D., 35.
 Ascher, Dr. Leonard W., 15, 19, 20.
 Asphalt, at La Brea, 235.
 Aspinwall, W. H., 275.
 Aspiroz, Prof. Salvador, 141.
 Associations, *see* Societies.
 Astin, Samuel C., of Placer Co., 369.
 Atwill, J. F., S. F. alderman, 176.
 Auburn, fire at, 364.
 Aud, Francis L., 23, 35, 36.
 Austin, A., & Co., dry goods, 164.
 Ayres, Dr. Wot, Marysville dentist, 54.
 Bache, Major Hartman, 374.
 Backus, Rodman, 271, 371.
 Backus's Minstrels, 166, 375.
 Bacon, Josiah, 376.
 Badé, Dr. William Frederic, *In Memoriam*, 289.
 Badger, William G., 376.
 Bagley, J. W., of San Francisco, 371.
 Bailey, Justice Orrin, 176, 277.
 Bailey, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Baird, Elias, 266.
 Baker, Col. Edward D., 200-1, 205, 267, 272.
 Baker, G. W., Recorder of S. F., 169.
 Ball, Charles, of Marysville, 50, 54.
 Banks and bankers, 166, 175, 177, 179, 186, 195, 266, 268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 281, 364, 365, 372.
 Bannack, Idaho, 324.
 Bannister, Prof. E., 186.
 Barbeau, J. L., of San Francisco, 369, 370.
 Barber, Arthur S., 42.
 Barili Thorn (or Thorne), Signora Clotilde, 181, 183, 274, 278.
 Barrett, Amos, Wells Fargo agent, 376.
 Barron, Eustace, 14, 129, 130, 131, 229, 238, 239, 240, 241.
 Barron, William E., 14.
 Barron, Forbes and Company, 4, 15.
 Barry & Patten, 172.
 Bartlett, C. J., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Bartlett, James W., *In Memoriam*, 195.
 Bartol, A., of San Francisco, 174.
 Barton, W., of Marysville, 29.
 Barton, William, 120.
 Bassani, Signor, singer, 267.
 Bateman, H. L., 164, 165, 166.
 Bates, Attorney-Gen. Edward, 6, 8, 10, 12, 19, 20.
 Battery Street, San Francisco, 65.
 Batturs, E. T., S. F. Tax Collector, 280, 281.
 Bauer, C., of San Francisco, 282.
 Beach, George H., of Marysville, 41.
 Beale, Edward F., 165, 247, 248, 249, 253.
 Beale, Harvey S., 104.
 Bear Flag, 231, 237.
 Bear Flag revolt, 62, 230, 231, 237, 242-43.
 Beard, J. R., 168.
 Bears, 178, 381.
 Becher, Frederick G., 341, 351.
 Becherini, Signora Ernesta, singer, 183.
 Bee, Albert W., 95.
 Bee, Everett Newton, *In Memoriam*, 95-96.
 Bee, F. A., 95.
 Beechey, Capt. F. W., 213, 215.
 Beideman, J. B., of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Bekeart, Jules François, 96.
 Bekeart, Philip Baldwin, *In Memoriam*, 96.
 Bell, G. W., Pres. of Olympic Club, 305.
 Bell, Tom, highwayman, 380.
 Bell, Col. W. H., of San Francisco, 369.
 Bender, Albert M., 93, 94, 193, 194, 287, 288, 385, 386.

- Benham, Calhoun, 83, 168, 179.
 Benham, Leander, 177, 178.
 Benicia, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 83, 84, 85, 164.
 Benites, José, surgeon, 379.
 Benjamin, Judah P., 6.
 Benton, Senator Thomas Hart, 204.
 Berkeley, 381.
 Bernardelli, Mr., singer, 174, 179.
 Berreyesa, José R., land claim of, 4, 13, 14.
 Berry, J., & Co., of San Francisco, 183.
 Berry, Col. John V., 28, 33, 38, 45.
 Beutler, Mr., opera singer, 165, 167.
 Bidwell, fire at, 169.
 Bigelow, J. B., of Marysville, 24.
 Bigler, Gov. John, 167, 179, 274, 280, 368, 369.
 Billings, Frederick, 10, 13, 14, 20, 175, 179, 182, 267, 274.
 Bills, H. C., 281.
 Birdsall, George, of San Francisco, 281.
 Bishop, Madame Anna, 165, 166, 167, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 184, 274, 276, 371.
 Bissell, Capt. G. W. P., 73, 74, 373; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 72-73.
 Black, Col. H. M., 9.
 Black, Attorney-General Jeremiah S., 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, 19.
 "Black Bart," *see* Boles, Charles E.
 Blackburn, William, of Santa Cruz, 370.
 Blake, Anson S., 287; **Report of Secretary and Treasurer**, 90-92.
 Blakeslee, Rev. S. V., 41, 43.
 Blanding, Lewis, 164.
 Bloomfield, William, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Blossom, Mr., Treasurer of Metropolitan Theatre, 278.
 Bochs, Mr., singer, 175.
 Bodega y Quadra, Juan Francisco de la, 59.
 Boden, Charles R., address by, 382-83; **San Francisco's Cisterns**, 311-23.
 Bodie, 381.
 Boles, Charles E. ("Black Bart"), 190, 192, 379.
 Boles (or Bowles), Joseph, 240.
 Bolton, J. R., land claim of, 366.
 Bond, Charles R., of San Francisco, 164.
 Bond, J. Gorham, of Mass., 165.
 Bonilla, Mariano, 347.
 Bonnell, E., Sec'y of Olympic Club, 305.
Book Reviews, 191, 381; *see also* **Western History**.
 Booth, Edwin, 163, 169, 189, 278, 281.
 Borica, Gov. Diego de, 60, 61.
 Boruck, Marcus D., 277.
 Bouchard, Hypolite, 139.
 Boudin, Frenchman in Marysville, 49.
 Boulbon, *see* Raousset-Boulbon.
 Boundary survey, 179.
 Bowen, Isaac, of Marysville, 39.
 Bowers, Mrs. Sandy (Eilly Orrum), 381.
 Bowie, Maj. G. W., 168.
 Bowie, Hamilton, 180, 181, 274.
 Bowlen, Fred J., 311.
 Brace, Philander, 158, 159, 160, 161.
 Brambila, Fernando, artist, 214.
 Branciforte, 188.
 Brannan, Samuel, 244, 370.
 Brenham, C. J., 266.
 Brennan, Charles J., Chief Engineer, S. F. Fire Dept., opp. 316, 317, 323; quoted, 320, 321.
 Brewster, Dr. S. T., of Marysville, 28.
 Bridges: Golden Gate, 379; San Francisco-Oakland Bay, 379, 381.
 Brier, Rev. William Wallace, 43, 44, 57.
 Brierly, Rev. B., 182, 186.
 Briggs, Rev. M. C., 186.
 Bright, Judge, of Marysville, 29.
 Brincken, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Brittan, J. W., 280, 364, 372.
 Broadwater, Thomas, 34.
 Broderick, David C., 199, 200, 204, 270, 311, 382-83.
 Bronk, George M., of Marysville, 29.
 Brooks, Noah, 8.
 Brophy, Col. John, 28, 29.
 Brosnan (or Brosman), Judge, 366.
 Brown, Judge, of San Francisco, 364.
 Brown, Ezekiel, of San Francisco, 281.
 Brown, John Henry, quoted, 65.
 Brown, Col. K. B., of Virginia City, 381.
 Brown, M. S., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Brown, W. H., of Marysville, 49.
 Brown's Valley diggings, 52.
 Brumagim, Mark, 52.
 Bryan, Charles H., 35, 369.
 Bryant, Edwin, quoted, 330-31.
 Bryant, W. C., of San Francisco, 280.
 Buchanan, Commander Franklin, 183, 185.
 Buchanan, Robert B., 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 39, 41, 53, 57.
 Buchanan, Russell, **James A. McDougall, a Forgotten Senator**, 199-212.
 Buckelew, B. R., 169, 370.
 Buckingham, Alderman C. E., 177, 178, 276, 281.
 Buel, Rev. F., 185.
 Buelna, Capt. Antonio, 121, 122, 225, 341, 354, 355.
 Buffum, E. Gould, 270.
 Bulger, Edward, 158.
 Bull, Ole, 166, 167, 169.
 Burdue, Thomas, 34-36, 37.
 Burgoyne & Co., S. F. bankers, 186.
 Burlingame, Joel, 29, 42.
 Burnham, S. B., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Burns, Alexander, of Marysville, 54.
 Burns, James ("Jimmy from Town"), 38.
 Burrill, Mr., flutist, 45.
 Burrill, Mrs. actress, 266.
 Burton, Capt. John, 224-25.
 Burton, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Butler, B. F., artist, 305.
 Butler, M. F., of San Francisco, 280.
 Butte, Montana, 324, 326.
 Butterfield Overland Mail, 99, 189, 190.
 Butterworth, Samuel, 8, 14, 16.
 Byrne, H. H., 186, 257.

- Cahuenga, Battle at, 229-30.
 California, Albert F. Morris's description of, 234-36.
 California Historical Society, members of, 87, 162, 223, 388; services rendered by, 387-88; *see also* Meetings.
 California Lumber Co., 177.
 California Never Was an Independent Republic, by George Tays, 242-43.
 California State seal, 302.
 California Steam Navigation Co., 168, 171, 365.
 Callendar, Capt. F. D., letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 84.
 Camp, Charles L., ed. of *The Journal of a "Crazy Man"* . . . Albert Ferdinand Morris, 103-38, 224-41.
 Campbell, Alexander, 280.
 Campbell, Thompson, 280.
 Campo Seco, fire at, 171.
 Canby, Gen. E. R. S., 286.
 Candelaria, Nevada, 381.
 Cannon, *San Francisco's Ancient*, by Douglas S. Watson, 58-69, opp. 58.
 Cantil Blanco (Fort Point), S. F., 59.
 Cantua, Vicente, 119.
 Carey, Edward, 179.
 Carey, James C., of San Francisco, 281.
 Carmichael, Lawrence, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Carpenter, Lemuel or Samuel, 231.
 Carr, John, blacksmith, 283.
 Carr, W. B., 76.
 Carrillo, Pedro C., 165, 370.
 Carson, Kit, 62, 286.
 Carson, Moses B., 134.
 Carson City, Nevada, 381.
 Carter, Charles D., 271.
 Carvalho, C., Chinese interpreter, 177.
 Case, Charles L., of San Francisco, 164.
 Casey, James F., 80, 81, 366.
 Casey, John J., City Engineer of S. F., 319; quoted, 322-23.
 Castellero, Andrés, 3-4, 6, 7, 14, 19, 347, 356, 363.
 Castellero, Luis, 341.
 Castellero Claim, *see* New Almaden Company.
 Castillo, ranch owner in Baja Calif., 105-6, 113.
 Castillo de San Joaquin, 58, 60-66, *passim*, 69, 306.
 Castillo Negrete, Luis del, 347, 348, 356, 358.
 Castillo Negrete, Manuel, 130.
 Castro, Angel, 119.
 Castro, Joaquin Ysidro, 277.
 Castro, Gen. José, 3, 4, 62, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127-31, *passim*, 138, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 348; letters, reports, and orders of, 343, 344, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 362; letter from Gutierrez to, 345-47.
 Castro, Juan (José?), 127.
 Caulkin, Milo, of San Francisco, 280.
 Cazneau, Gen. Thomas N., 143; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 143-45.
 Celebrations: Admission Day (1854) 173-74; Chinese New Years (1855) 272; Christmas (1862) 190, (1854) 268; German *Mai Fest* (1855) 278; St. Patrick's Day (1855) 275; Thanksgiving Day (1854) 184; Washington's Birthday (1855) 272.
 Cemeteries, in San Francisco: Lone Mountain, 165, 172, 209, 373; Yerba Buena, 172, 277.
 Center, John, of San Francisco, 365.
 Chabolla, Luis, 18.
 Chaigneau, Emilia, violinist, 46, 47.
 Chamberlain, Judge C. M., 176.
 Chamberlain, John, of Monterey, 123.
 Chambers, Judge, of San Francisco, 372.
 Chanks, H., Treas. of Olympic Club, 305.
 Chapel, George, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Chapman, William B., 173, 179.
 Chard, William George, 127, 241.
 Chase, Benjamin T., of San Francisco, 372.
 Chico, Gov. Mariano, 338, 351.
 Childs, "General," 178.
 Chinese, 285; immigration, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 202, 269; emigration, 172, 279; legislation against, 267, 380; in Marysville, 1851, 53, 54; in S. F., 163, 174, 176, 177, 186, 267, 272, 276, 277, 378.
 Cholera, 371.
 Christian, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Christy's Minstrels, 179, 180, 184.
 Churches and religions: in Marysville, 41-45, 57; in Oakland, 171; in San Francisco, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 183, 185, 186, 266, 268, 270, 305, 365, 366, 376; Baptist, 164, 171, 179, 186, 266; Chinese Mission Chapel, 163; Congregational, 41, 166, 168, 183, 185; Episcopal, 185, 373; Jewish, 164, 170, 173, 174; Methodist, 41-42, 57; Pilgrim Sunday School, 165; Presbyterian, 43-44, 57, 167, 168, 270, 305; Roman Catholic, 44-45, 180, 268, 366; Unitarian, 169; Universalist, 45; *see also* Mormons.
 Churchman, James, 204, 367.
 Circus, Lee and Marshall's, 167, 184.
 Cisterns, for fire protection, 311, 372, article on, by Charles R. Boden, 311-23.
 Citizen's Steam Navigation Co., 168.
 Civil War, 9, 17, 285.
 Clark, Galen, 379.
 Clark, John A., of San Francisco, 181, 277.
 Clark, Smyth, 178, 271.
 Clark, William, of Marysville, 54.
 Clark's Point, San Francisco, 65.
 Clarke, J., of San Francisco, 280.
 Clear Lake, Spanish treatment of Indians at, 232.
 Cleary, Alfred J., 322; quoted, 319.
 Clemens, Samuel L., 381.

- Clifford, Capt., Englishman at San Blas, 129, 238.
 Clift, Frederick C., *In Memoriam*, 289.
 Clubs, *see* Societies.
 Cobb, H. A., of San Francisco, 377.
 Cocos Island Expedition, 270.
 Coffroth, James W., 376.
 Cogswell, J. P., 376.
 Cohen, A. A., 273, 274, 279, 368, 371, 372, 377.
 Cohen, Frederick A., 371, 372.
 Cohen, Louis, of San Francisco, 164.
 Cohn, Louis, of San Francisco, 364.
 Coins, minted by Mormons, 244-46, *opp.* 244.
 Coit, B. B., of San Francisco, 281
 Coit, Mrs Lillie Hitchcock, 384.
 Cole, Dr. R. Beverley, 88.
 Coleman, William T., 76; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 253-54.
 Collins, Mrs. Julia Gould, 371.
 Coloma, 96.
 Colorado River (Red River), 132; 133, 201; hunting excursion to, 105-13.
 Colton, Walter, 236, 285.
 Columbia, 143, 144; fire at, 166.
 Comstock Lode, 190, 381.
 Condemned Bar, 31.
Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco, 88, 163-86, 266-82, 364-77.
 Cook, Elisha, of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Cook, Grove C., 19.
 Cooper, Charles H., prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Cooper, Charles P., of Marysville, 53.
 Cooper, Henry, 121.
 Cooper, Capt. J. B. R., 225, 339.
 Coppinger, John, 115, 116, 135, 224, 225, 228.
 Cora, Charles, 81, 204, 211.
 Corby, Mr., comic dancer, 279.
 Cordero, José, 214.
 Cordova, Lt. Alberto, 61.
 Cordua, Theodor, 54, 55.
 Cornwall, P. B., 76, 370.
 Cornwall, William A., Sec'y of Senate, 275.
 Corser, Charles H., of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Corte Madera, 279.
 Cortes, Hernando, 190.
 Covillaud, Charles, 24, 29, 42, 51, 53, 280, *opp.* 21.
 Cowan, Robert E., 196.
 Cox, R. M., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Crane, John, S. F. alderman, 177.
"Crazy Man," Journal of a, by Albert Ferdinand Morris, 103-38.
 Creaner, Judge Charles M., 161.
 Crescent City, 369.
 Crespi, Padre Juan, 329; quoted, 329-30.
 Crespo, Manuel, 347, 348.
 Crime and criminals, 88, 163-86 *passim*, 266-82 *passim*, 364, 371, 372, 375, 376, 381.
 Crittenden, John J., 6.
 Crocker, Charles, 76.
 Crocker, E. B., 76.
 Crockett, Col. Joseph B., 70, 72, 73, 146, 273; *corres.* in re 1856 Vig. Com., 72, 73-75.
 Cropper, Capt. T. B., 275.
 Crossette, George H., 369.
 Crouch, Cyrus, of Marysville, 45.
 Cunningham, Lewis, 24, 29, 43, 52.
 Curiel, Bernardo, 356.
 Curtis, Judge Benjamin R., 6, 15.
 Curtis, James F., of San Francisco, 164.
 Cushing, Caleb, opinion on 1856 Vig. Com., 252.
 Cushing, James, 21, 23, 24, 28.
 Cushing, Robert, 366.
 Cushman, Charles D., 275.
 Cusick, James, 77.
 Custom House, S. F., 270; duties collected at, 1854, 269.
 Cutler, Rev. R. P., 182.
 Dana, Richard Henry, Jr., 378.
 Daryl, Nathan, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Davenport, Jane, actress, 273, 281, 366.
 David, Edouard, French Consul, 49, 53.
 David, Julius, 262.
 Davidson, B., & Co., bankers, 272, 374.
 Davidson, George H., S. F. alderman, 367.
 Davidson, H., publisher of the *Leader*, 174.
 Davis, Judge David, 16, 20.
 Davis, William Heath, 236.
 Day, Henry C., 165, 168.
 Day, Sherman, 269.
 Deal, Dr. W. Grove, 45.
 Death Valley, 380, 381.
 DeCourcy, H. A., 174.
 Dehon, J. T., 176, 179.
 Delano, Alonzo, 301, 378.
 De Long, Charles E., quoted, 333.
 Democratic party, 5, 28-30, 33, 166, 167, 171, 172, 174, 202, 204-5, 279, 280, 281, 366, 368, 369, 371, 374, 377.
 Denham, James, of San Francisco, 180.
 Denin, Kate, actress, 163.
 Denin, Susan, actress, 88.
 Denio, W. F., of San Francisco, 280.
 Dennis, William, of San Francisco, 175.
 Dennis, William E., 364.
 Denver, Gen. James W., 167, 204, 205, 206.
 De Quille, Dan (William Wright), 381.
 Derby, Lieut. George H. (John Phoenix), 374.
 Des Pointes, Rear Admiral, 176, 179, 180.
 D'Evani, Mons., gymnast, 367.
 Dickerson, T. L., 325, 326; letter, 326-28.
 Dickinson, Charles, Sec'y of Senate, 275.
 Dickman, William, photographer, 305.
 Dillon, Patrick, French Consul, 370.
 Dillon, Mrs. Patrick, 183.
 Dobbins, W. W., 34.
 Dobbins' Ranch, Yuba Co., 34.
 Dohrmann, Fred W., Jr., *In Memoriam*, 97.
 Dondero, Nicolás, 122, 137.
 Donner party, 100, 187, 188.
 Dougherty, John, of S. F. Fire Dept., 316, 322.

- Douglas, Stephen A., 200, 201, 203, 205.
 Douglass, David F., corres. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 78-79, 146.
 Dove, James Grigor, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Dow, William H., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Downieville, lynching at, 31.
 Drake, Francis, 59, 172.
 Drexel, Sather & Church, 272.
 Drum, Ass't Adj't. R. C., 9.
 Drury, Aubrey, 93; address by, 89.
 Drury, Wells, book by, rev., 381.
 Dryden, Rev. D. A., 42.
 Drytown, hanging at, 172.
 Duane, Charles P., 88, 163, 175, 186, 313.
 Duane, John, 313.
 DuBois, William E., 246.
 Duels: Broderick-Terry, 382-83; Dorsey-Brown, 174; Essler-Dube, 163; Kelly-Williams, 169; Kewen-Woodlief, 182.
 Duffie, James, 163.
 Duhaut-Cilly, August Bernard, quoted, 330.
 Dunlap, P., of Sacramento *Statesman*, 273.
 Dunne, John H., 165.
 Durkee, John L., 85, 180, 258, 282.
 Dye, Job Francis, 64, 121, 122, 233.
 Earthquakes: in S. F., 320-31, (1854) 179, 266, (1906) 315, 321; in L. A., 374; in Santa Barbara, 376.
 Easton, J. S., City Engineer of S. F., 179.
 Eaton, Joseph B., 62.
 Eaton, J. L., of Marysville, 28.
 Eckfeldt, Jacob R., 246.
 Eckman, Rabbi Julius, 167, 170.
 Eddy, R. A., of Marysville, 54.
 Edwards, P. L., 202, 211, 270.
 Ehrenberg, Herman, 284.
 Ehrman, Sidney M., 98.
 El Dorado County, place names of, 380.
 Eldredge, James, 4, 19.
 Eliza City, 41.
 Ellet, Charles, of Marysville, 29, 30.
 Elliott, Major George H., 65, 68; quoted, 66.
 Ellis, Alfred James, of San Francisco, 370.
 Ellis & Co., San Francisco, 172.
 Emigrant Road Commission, 267.
 "Emigrant's Dream, The," by E. A. Wiltsee, 324-28.
 Emory, Frederick, 88.
 Engler, George, of Marysville, 46.
 English, J. S., Mayor of Sacramento, 276.
 Ensign, George, of San Francisco, 276.
 Espinosa, actor, 179, 183.
 Espinosa, Trinidad, ranch of, 122.
 Estrada, Patricio, 347, 348, 356.
 Estudillo, José Antonio, 339.
 Ethiopian Serenaders, 46.
 Evans, Mr. and Mrs. William, 169.
 Everett, J. P., of San Francisco, 181.
 Evodio, José, 356.
 Express companies, 99, 185, 189, 192, 196, 271, 273, 284, 328, 372.
 Fages, Pedro, 213, 216, 217, 219.
 Fair, James G., 381.
 Fairchild, comedian, 44, 45, 48.
 Fairfax, Charles F., 29, 33.
 Fall, John C., 28, 33, 51.
 Farish, Adam T., 23, 24, 28, 43.
 Farish, Mrs. L. B., 54.
 Farish & Adams, Marysville, 51, 55.
 Farnham, Thomas J., 103, 125-31, *passim*, 138, 236; letter to, 239-40.
 Farnhurst, Henry, 372, 373.
 Farragut, Capt. D. G., 158.
 Farren, Robert, 181.
 Farwell, Judge, U. S. Land Commissioner, 169.
 Farwell, Willard B., Assemblyman, 270, 273.
 Feather River, 22, 50-51; mining on, 52.
 Felch, Alpheus, 169.
 Ferguson, Jesse, 109, 112-13, 134.
 Ferguson, Paris Jasper, of Marysville, 54.
 Fernandez, Agustin, 140, 141, 142.
 Fiddes, Mrs., singer, 179.
 Field, Judge Stephen J., 9, 21-22, 43.
 Finley, J. W., 179.
 Fire companies, in Marysville: Yuba No. 2, 369; in Sacramento: Confidence Engine, No. 5, 369.
 Fire companies and Fire Dept., in S. F., 167, 169, 175, 270, 272, 279, 301, 311-23; California, No. 4, 185, 313; Columbian, No. 11, 185, 271; Crescent No. 10, 185; Deluge, 179; Empire, No. 1, 185, 311, 372; Howard, No. 3, 88, 163, 185, 367, 368; Knickerbocker, No. 5, 179, 182, 185; Lafayette Hook & Ladder, No. 2, 183, 185, 305, 369, 377; Manhattan, No. 2, 172, 179, 180, 185; Monumental, No. 6, 164, 166, 174, 180, 185, 313, 372; Pacific, No. 8, 167, 185; Pennsylvania, No. 12, 177, 183, 185, 313, 367; Peterson, No. 15, 179, 267; Protection, 311; Rough Diamond, No. 13, 369; St. Francis Hook & Ladder, No. 1, 183, 185; San Francisco, 311; Sansome Hook & Ladder, No. 3, 185; Tiger, No. 14, 313; Vigilant, No. 9, 185; Volunteer, No. 7, 185, 364.
 Fires: in Angels Camp, 368; Auburn, 364; Bidwell, 169; Campo Seco, 171; Columbia, 166; French Corral, 172; Marysville, 54-55, 168; Mokelumne Hill, 171; Oakland, 367; Nevada City, 272; Sacramento, 166, 173, 297; St. Louis, 171; San Francisco, 166, 272, 279, 311-12, 315-17, 321, 323, 366, 369, 370, 372, 376; Stockton, 272.
 Firks, Henry, artist, 54.
 Fish, Ross A., 370, 371.
 Fisher, L. P., 376.
 Fisher, Walter M., quoted, 104.
 Fitzgerald, Maurice, address by, 286.
 Flags that have flown over Calif., 96, 190; raising of Mexican, 61, 141-42; raising of U. S. at Monterey, 58, 63, 243; at Yerba Buena, 63-64; **An Inquiry into the Significance of the Raising of the American Flag at Yerba Buena**, by Douglas S. Watson, 306-10.

- Fleas, 218; agony caused by, opp. 329; article on, 329-37.
 Flint, Wilson, 164.
 Florcken, Herbert G., **Law and Order View of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856**, 70-87, 143-62, 247-65.
 Flores, Gumesindo (?), 125.
 Flower, Samuel, 172.
 Foley, F., of San Francisco, 371.
 Folsom, Capt. Joseph L., 163, 172, 366, 372, 373, 374, 376.
 Foltz, R. M., of Marysville, 29.
 Fonda, William, of Marysville, 54.
 Font, Padre Pedro, 59.
 Foote, Henry S., 73, 202.
 Forbes, W. J. ("Semblens"), 381.
 Forbes, William, 240.
 Ford, Henry L., 230, 370.
 Ford, William, of Marysville, 29.
 Foreign miners' tax, 267.
 Foreigners, treatment of, by Spanish Californians, 118, 119-31, 136-37, 224-25, 227-31, 237, 238-39, 240-41.
 Forman, Col. F., 79, 83; docs. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 80, 249-51.
 Forrest, Capt. French, 130.
 Forster, Juan, 285.
 Fort Mason, S. F., 58, 66.
 Fort Montgomery, S. F., 62, 65, 68.
 Fort Point, S. F., 59, 62, 66, 180.
 Fossatt, Charles, 4.
 Fossatt Claim (quicksilver mines), 4, 6, 8, 15.
 Foster's Bar, 34.
 Fraser River mining excitement, 324.
 Fraternal organizations, *see* Societies.
 Frazer, George W., prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Freedom's Phalanx, 280.
 Freelon, Judge T. W., 176, 180, 183, 248, 375; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 262.
 Frémont, Jessie Benton, 99-100, 188.
 Frémont, John C., 58, 62, 63, 64, 68, 191, 235, 275, 284, 368; house of, at Black Point, S. F., 8.
 French Corral, fire at, 172.
 French interference in Mexico, 208.
 Friedman, Joseph S., 54, 57.
 Froebel, Julius, S. F. editor, 272.
 Fruit growing, 235, 381.
 Fur trappers, 105-13, 133, 134.
 Fury, William ("Cock-Eye"), 177.
 Gaffney, Michael, of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Galapagos Islands, 279.
 Galiano, Dionisio Alcalá, 214, 215.
 Gallagher, Mr., murder of, 39.
 Galvin, E. R., of Tuolumne Co., 270.
 Gambling, 57; in Marysville, 49-50.
 Gantt, Capt. John, 229, 237.
 García, Reyes, 356.
 Gardner, J. H., of San Francisco, 270.
 Gardner, John, murdered, 39.
 Garner, William R., 119, 120, 236, 241.
 Garrison, C. K., 167, 174, 180, 185, 266, 271, 281, 370, 371, 376.
 Garst, Elias, of Marysville, 24.
 Garwood, G. W., 280.
 Garwood, George M., 179.
 Garwood, Joseph F., of Marysville, 24.
 George, Henry, quoted, 6.
 George, James, of San Francisco, 164.
 Gibb, Daniel, 269.
 Gibbons, Edward, Oakland alderman, 281.
 Gibbons, Dr. Henry, 276.
 Gibbons, Dr. W. P., 372.
 Gifts and Loans to the Society, 91, 93-95, 193-94, 287-88, 385-86.
 Gila River, 201; hunting excursion to, 105-13.
 Gillespie, Lt. Archibald, 62, 63.
 Gillis, Stephen E. ("Steve"), 381.
 Glen, Maj. Thomas, 281.
 Godeffroy, Sillem & Co., 177.
 Goff, Daniel, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Gold, discovery of, 244; nugget, 185; rushes, 324, 374, 379; shipments of, 88, 164-86, *passim*, 266-82, *passim*, 366, 375; **First Utah Coins Minted from California Gold**, by Reva H. Stanley, 244-46.
 Gold Mountain, Grass Valley, 52.
 Golden Gate, 61; Bridge, 379.
 Gomez, Rafael, 338.
 Gomez, Santiago, 356.
 Gonzales, Juan, 122.
 Gonzalez, Manuel María, 347, 348, 356.
 Goodwin, Andrew, 38.
 Goodwin, Charles C., 381.
 Goodwin, Jesse O., 21, 22, 28, 35, 43, 49.
 Goodwin, Joseph, 381.
 Gordon & Steen, of San Francisco, 88, 183, 273.
 Gorham, Judge Ambrose, 184.
 Gorham, George C., 43.
 Gorham, William R., 168, 181.
 Gould, Miss Julia, 165, 167.
 Grady, E., of San Francisco, 182.
 Graham, Capt., Inspector of Lighthouses, 172.
 Graham, Isaac, opp. 103, 104, 115-29, *passim*, 135, 137, 138, 227, 230, 233, 234, 239, 241, 339.
 Graham affair, 119-31, 134, 137-38, 233-34, 241.
 Grambs, or Grampas, Frederick, 45, 46, 47.
 Grant, Miss Annie, 300.
 Grant, Gilbert A., of San Francisco, 281.
 Grass Valley, 52, 182, 290.
 Gredelue, singer or actor, 179.
 Green, Mrs. Charles E., **In Memoriam**, 97.
 Green, Floride, **In Memoriam**, 383-84.
 Green, T. D., 266.
 Green, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Greene, William, of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Greene, William G., of San Francisco, 178.
 Greenhow, Robert and Rose, 172.
 Greenwood, Caleb, 379, 380.

- Griffith, Mr., violinist, 45.
 Griffith, Humphrey, 76.
 Grigsby, Capt. John, 65.
 Grim, Henry G., 177.
 Guerra, José de la, 141.
 Guerra, Juan de la, 213, 215.
 Guerrero, Pedro, 356.
 Gutierrez, Capt. Nicolás, 115, 135, 348;
 letters of, 349, 350; **Surrender of Monterey** by, 338-63.
 Guy, Abel, 280.
 Gwin, William M., 146, 173, 199, 200, 203,
 204, 205, 270, 275, 280.
 Haet, Thomas, of San Francisco, 371.
 Hager, Judge John S., 364, 369.
 Haight, Henry, 175, 176, 272.
 Haight, Henry H., 202.
 Hall, Henry M., 270.
 Hall, Mary A., and Samuel C., 172, 173, 175.
 Halleck, Henry W., 9, 10, 11, 12, 376.
 Halleck, Peachy, and Billings, 6, 9, 10, 368.
 Hamilton, Ebenezer, 43, 53, 56, 57.
 Hammond, John Hays, **In Memoriam**, 290-
 91.
 Hammond, Col. Richard P., 211, 290.
 Hand, Dr. E. B., of Marysville, 29.
 Handley, Capt. William James, 352, 353,
 362.
 Hangings, 168, 172, 270, 271, 376, 381; *see*
 also Vigilance Committee.
 Hann, T. R., actor, 173, 181.
 Hansen, H. W., lithographer, 302.
 Hanson, George M., 42, 57.
 Harlowe, Capt. of *Telegraph*, 278.
 Harmon, John B., of Sacramento, 75.
 Harran, James C., of San Francisco, 179.
 Harrington, William D., 169.
 Harris, Frank, 380.
 Harris, Dr. Stephen R., 370.
 Harris, W. D., 179.
 Hart, Julien, **In Memoriam**, 292.
 Harte, Bret, 285.
 Hartnell, William E. P., 236, 286-87, 333.
 Haskell, D. Hale, 169.
 Haskell, Henry, of San Francisco, 370.
 Haskell, J. M., of San Francisco, 364.
 Haskins, R. A., of Marysville, 29.
 Hastler, E. J., 164.
 Hathaway, Charles S., of San Francisco, 367.
 Hathaway, Charles W., of San Francisco,
 280, 364.
 Haun, Judge Henry Peter, 22, 28, 29, 33, 38.
 Haus, J. T., Justice of the Peace, 276.
 Hawaiian Islands, *see* Sandwich Islands.
 Hawkins, Z., of Marysville, 29.
 Hawks, William W., 278.
 Hayes, Kate, singer, 166.
 Hayes, Thomas, 364, 365.
 Hays, Col. John Coffee, 290.
 Hays, Robert, 177.
 Hays, William, 38.
 Haywood, Benjamin, 164.
 Hazen, Kelsey, of San Francisco, 276.
 Hearst, William Randolph, 283, 284.
 Helena, Montana, 324, 326.
 Henderson, B. F., of Marysville, 21.
 Hendry, Prof. George W.; address by, 89-
 90.
 Henley, Hon. Thomas J., Supt. of Indian
 Affairs, 165, 171.
 Henriques, David, 179.
 Hensley, Samuel J., 269.
 Henslier, James, 376.
 Herbert, Philip T., 167, 204.
 Hermann, Lucien, 173, 275.
 Hermann, Samuel, 370.
 Herold, Mr., singer, 166.
 Herrera, José María, 341, 350, 356, 358;
 report of, 351.
 Heslep, Joseph, of San Joaquin Co., 270.
 Hester, Judge, of Santa Clara Co., 278.
 Hetherington, Joseph, 158, 159, 160, 161.
 Heydenfeldt, Judge Solomon, 269.
 Hides and tallow, 114, 118, 226-27, 286.
 Higgins, David, Democratic candidate, 377.
 Higgins, John, 123, 240.
 Hinckley, Capt. William S., 339, 341, 349,
 353, 358.
 Hittell, John S., 172.
 Hoff, J. J., of San Francisco, 281.
 Hoff, William C., 370.
 Hoffman, Judge Ogden, Jr., 6, 7, 164, 169,
 368.
 Hogan, John, Oakland marshal, 267.
 Holladay, Benjamin, stage company of, 328.
 Holland, B. E., of San Francisco, 181.
 Hope, Capt. R., of *Guadalupe*, 173.
 Hopkins, Charles, 169, 266.
 Hopkins, Joseph, of San Francisco, 281,
 364.
 Hopkins, S. A., 86, 146-51, *passim*, 156, 157;
 stabbed by Terry, *opp.* 143.
 Hopkins, Mark, 76, 97, 98.
 Hopkins, Timothy, **In Memoriam**, 97-98.
 Horn, B. C., of San Francisco, 276.
 Horses and horse racing, in Marysville,
 48-49; nr. Sacramento, 276; in S. F., 170,
 171, 177, 185, 367, 374; at Santa Cruz, 227.
 Hossefross, George H., 170, 311.
 Hotels: in Benicia, 73, 74; in Marysville,
 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50; in Sacramento,
 273; in S. F., 65, 166, 178, 182, 272, 278,
 280, 289, 369.
 Howard, James B., of Marysville, 53, 57.
 Howard, Volney E., 70, 73, 147, 374; *corres.*
 in re 1856 Vig. Com., 76-79.
 Howell, B. H., of San Francisco, 280.
 Howell, John, address by, 192-93.
 Hubbard, Joseph, of San Francisco, 280.
 Hudson's Bay Company, 184, 189.
 Hughes, the pedestrian, 165.
 Hunt, Rev. T. Dwight, 43.
 Hunt, Wilson Price, 191.
 Huntington, C. P., 76.
 Huntley, Sir Henry, 179.
 Hutchings, James Mason, 379.
 Hyde, Alderman, James T., 184, 186, 276,
 281.

- Ice, brought from mountains in 1851, 54.
 Idaho, 324, 325.
 Immigration, 175, 189, 268-69, 280; promotion of, 374; State law in re, 169, 170; *see also* Chinese.
In Memoriam: William Frederic Badé, 289; James W. Bartlett, 195; Everett Newton Bee, 95-96; Philip Baldwin Bekeart, 96; Frederick C. Clift, 289; Fred W. Dohrmann, Jr., 97; Mrs. Charles E. Green, 97; Floride Green, 383-84; John Hays Hammond, 290-91; Julien Hart, 292; Timothy Hopkins, 97-98; Orra Eugene Monnette, 195; Lawrence Strassburger, 384-85.
 Independence from Mexico, declaration of, 1836, 354-55.
 Indians: 189, 330; at Alameda, 380; Clear Lake, 232; Carmel and Monterey, opp. 213 and between 214-15, 218-23; Colorado River, 105, 108-9, 132-33, 134; Gila River, 111-12; at the Missions, 114, 218-23; uprising in Siskiyou County, 254, 281; Sutter's Fort, 226-27, 230, 237; Modocs, 286; Yosemite, 379; Yumas, 109.
 Ingoldsby, Rev. John, 168.
Inquiry into the Significance of the Raising of the American Flag at Yerba Buena, July 9, 1846, by Douglas S. Watson, 306-10.
 Inskeep, E. W., 35.
 Iowa Hill, hanging at, 271.
 Irvin, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Italian Opera Troupe, 181, 183, 267, 274, 278.
 Jacks, Noel H., 193.
 Janson, C. J., of San Francisco, 34, 37.
 Japan, treaty with, 1854, 163.
 Jarnagin, J. M., 88.
 Jeffers, Robinson, 283.
 Jessup, Richard M., 164, 255, 262.
 Jewett, John H., 21, 33, 36.
 Jinkerton, Andrew, murdered, 39.
 Jobson, David, of Marysville, 29.
 John Day country, Oregon, 324, 374.
 Johnson, C. R., of Los Angeles, 370.
 Johnson, J. B., of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Johnson, Gov. J. Neely, 168, 264, 265, 377; *corres.* in re 1856 Vig. Com., 70-85, 146-61, 247-63.
 Johnson, Senator Reverdy, 6.
 Johnston, George Pen, 270.
 Jones, J. T., of San Francisco, 171.
 Jones, John P., 381.
 Jones, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby, 20, 227, 228, 285.
 Jones, Thomas, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Joy, Capt. Hartford, 36, 56.
 Joyce, Matthew, of San Francisco, 281.
 Juan de Fuca, Straits of, 215.
 Judah, C. D., 281.
 Kahn, Edgar M., 385.
 Kamer, Joseph, of Marysville, 46.
 Kasson, C. S., 21, 23, 53.
 Kearney, Dennis, 381.
 Keeler, Ralph, 381.
 Keene, Miss Laura, 165, 169.
 Keiger, John, murderer, 30.
 Keller, John, of Marysville, 29.
 Kelley, Capt., of Co. L, 3d U. S. Artillery, 164.
 Kemble, E. C., 182.
 Kennedy, Commodore Edmund B., 357, 358.
 Kennedy, Hugh, of Marysville, 29, 45.
 Kennovan, pedestrian, 268.
 Kern River diggings, 271, 273, 274, 275.
 Kewen, Achilles, 182, 371.
 Kewen, E. J. C., 174, 371.
 Keyes, Capt. E. D., 266, 373.
 Keyes & Co., of San Francisco, 181.
 Kibbe, Gen. William C., 70, 264; *corres.* in re 1856 Vig. Com., 71, 85, 86, 143-61, 247-49, 252-53, 254-60, 262, 263.
 Kimball, Heber C., 245.
 Kincannan, Capt., of Marysville, 45.
 King, Robert, 127.
 King of Wm., James, 80, 273, 378.
 Kino, Padre Eusebio Francisco, 283.
 Kip, Rt. Rev. Bishop, Wm. I., 180, 185.
 Kirby, Mrs. J. H. (Mrs James Stark), 48.
 Kirkpatrick, Col. J. S., of Marysville, 29.
 Knight, Henry, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Knight, William, 229.
 Know Nothing Party, 173, 182, 276, 280, 366, 374, 376, 377.
 Knox, Israel W., 376.
 Kohler, Frederick D., 311.
 Korsinski, Mme., singer, 46.
 Kostromitino, Russian Consul, 184.
 Labatt, A. C., of San Francisco, 280.
 Labatt, H. S., of San Francisco, 281.
 Laglaise, Mons., singer, 174, 178, 179, 183.
 Lajeuness, Basil, 121.
 Lake, Judge Delos, 270, 276, 282, 364.
 La Langle, Viscount de, 215, 220.
 Lamon, James C., 379.
 Lamon, Ward Hill, 15.
 Land claims, grants and ranchos: Alisal, 134, 286-87, 333; Bolton & Barron claim, 364, 365, 366; Campo Francia (Weber's claim), 277; Cordua's rancho, 52; Covillaud's claim, 280; La Brea, 235; Limantour's claims, 277; Mariposas (Frémont's claim), 275, 368; Natividad, 134; Panoche Grande (McGarrahan's claim), 380; Petaluma (Vallejo's claim), 280; Pulgas, 236, 266, 336, 337; Punta de Quintin (Buckelew's claim), 370; Rio de los Americanos (Folsom's claim), 366; San Antonio (Peralta's grant), 278; San Pablo (Castro's grant), 277; Sauzal, 134; Soscol (Vallejo's claim), 280; Suisun (Ritchie's claim), 275; Sutter's claim, 279, 280; Island of Yerba Buena (Polack's claim), 280.
 Land Commissioners, California, 171, 270.
 Land Commissioners, U. S., 4, 5, 164, 169, 171, 172, 176, 183, 269, 277, 279, 280, 364, 365, 366, 370.

- Landis, Benjamin, 42.
 Landrum, George, 370.
 Langlois, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Langworthy, Rev. T., 45.
 Lanzoni, Alessandro, singer, 183.
 La Pérouse, Jean François Galaup de, 213, 215; quoted, 216-23, 330.
 Larios, Justo, 4.
 Larkin, Miss Sophia, 176.
 Larkin, Thomas O., 116, 124, 125-26, 225, 236, 266, 302.
 Last Chance (Helena), Montana, 324, 326, 328.
 Lasuen, Father Fermin F. de, 213, 220.
 Latham, Milton S., 173, 202, 203, 204, 208, 211, 275, 368.
 Latham, William C., 167.
 Lathrop, Eli C., 76.
 Latimer, Mr. & Mrs. B. F., 166, 268, 271.
 Laurencel, Henry, 4, 19.
Law and Order View of the S. F. Vigilance Committee of 1856, by Herbert G. Florcken, 70-87, 247-65.
 Lawler, William, 177.
 Lawton, Alfred, of Marysville, 21.
 Leach, Mr., singer, 164, 166, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 271.
 Leach, Miss Maria, 164, 175.
 Leake, Charles A., 167.
 Leduc, Mme., singer, 47.
 Leese, Jacob P., 19, 230, 370.
 Legaspi, *see* Lopez de Legaspi.
 Leidesdorff, William A., 64, 366.
 Leman, Mark, 268.
 Lennan, Jacob, 376.
 Lent, John A., of San Francisco, 366.
 Leonardi, Francesco, singer, 183.
 Leveridge, Asa, of Mud Springs, 377.
 Levin, J. & C., of Marysville, 54.
 Levy, Julius, of St. Losky, Levy & Co., 275.
 Lewis, Thomas, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Leya, Emile, 46, 47.
 Libraries: Law Library, 185, 186, 270; Mercantile Library Association, 164, 183, 268, 270; Pacific Library Fund, 167; Public School Library, 169.
 Limantour, José Y., land claim of, 6, 19, 277.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 3-20, 190, 200, 201, 207.
Lincoln, Abraham, and the New Almaden Mine, by Milton H. Shutes, 3-20.
 Linda, town of, 39, 40.
 Lindley, Charles, of Marysville, 29.
 Lippincott, B. S., 280.
 Lippincott, William, 366.
 Lithographers, 99, 187, 188, 192-93, 301, 302, 305.
 Littlejohn, David, 120-21.
 Llebaria, Rev. John F., 44.
 Locke, E. R., of Marysville, 29.
 Loder, George, opera director, 164, 369.
 Loehr, Dr. Ferdinand, 172.
 Long, William S., Democratic candidate, 377.
 Lopez de Legaspi, Miguel, 382.
 Loring, A. F., 171.
 Los Angeles, 285; revolution at, 242; hanging at, 270.
 Lothian, Napier, 267.
 Loud, John, of Marysville, 29.
 Louzade, James, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Low, Frederick F., 9, 11, 12, 17.
 Lucas, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Lucas, Turner & Co., 166, 179, 272.
 Lull, Louis R., of San Francisco, 370.
 Lye, Mary, 39.
 Lyons, Peter, 121, 233.
 McAllister, Hall, 6.
 McAllister, Judge Matthew Hall, 6, 7, 275, 368, 369, 377.
 McAllister, Robert, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 McCabe, Judge, assaulted, 274.
 McCall, Dr. R. H., of Marysville, 29.
 McCann, F. J., 24, 29, 53.
 McCarty, John T., 21-22, 28.
 McClanahan, C. W., of Marysville, 43.
 McCloud, Alfonso, stage line of, 166.
 McConnell, Atty.-Gen. J. R., 366.
 McCorkle, J. W., 270.
 McCormick, J., 376.
 McCurdy, Samuel, of Tuolumne Co., 270.
 McDonald, A. D., 28, 53.
 McDonald, C. E. S., 375.
 McDonald, James, S. F. Police captain, 180, 268.
 McDonald, R. J., 375.
 McDougal, Gov. John, 28, 280.
 McDougall, Senator James A., 6, 167, 182, opp. 199; article on, by Russell Buchanan, 199-212.
 McDowell, Maj. Gen. Irwin, 66.
 McEvoy, J., S. F. saloon keeper, 372, 373.
 McEwen, Arthur, 381.
 McGarrahan, William, 380.
 McGlone, William, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 McGowan, Ned, 155.
 Mackay, John, 381.
 McKenzie, Marshal J. W., 178, 180, 182.
 McKibbin, William, of San Francisco, 281, 374.
 McLane, Louis, of San Francisco, 373.
 McLeod, C. C., of Marysville, 28, 32.
 McLoughlin, John, 190.
 McMinn, James B., 280, 281, 370.
 McNair, Judge John G., of Sonoma Co., 271.
 Macondray, F. W., 185.
 McPherson, Murdoch M., 285, 380.
 Maguire, Thomas, 189, 368.
 Mail, *see* Postal service.
 Majors, Joseph L., 224, 225, 227, 228, 233.
 Majors, Mrs. Joseph L. (Maria de Los Angeles Castro), 137, 227, 233.
 Malarin, Juan, letter from Gutierrez to, 342.
 Malaspina, Alejandro, 213, 214, 215, 380.
 Maloney, J. R., 85, 86.
 Malony, Capt., of *Libertad*, 169.

- Manayunk, near Oakland, 176.
 Manila galleons, 382.
 Manrow, J. P., 164.
 Mansfield, Joseph, of San Joaquin *Republican*, 270, 274.
 Marcy, W. L., letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 251-52.
 Marine Hospital, State, 88, 169, 186, 276.
 Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, 302, 316.
 Marlette, S. H., 285.
 Marriott & Wheeler, bankers, 175.
 Marryat, Frank, quoted, 334-35.
 Marshall, C. P., 376.
 Marshall, James Wilson, 190.
 Martin, Commodore Robert S., 177.
 Martinez, Estevan, 216.
 Martinez, Ignacio, 330.
 Marysville, amusements in, 45-50; becomes a city, 21-27; business and professional men in, 53-54; churches in, 41-45; fires in, 54-55, 168; military company in, 53; politics in, 23-24, 27-30, 33, 273; school in, 53; Vigilance Committee of, 30-41, 56.
Marysville, The Beginnings of, by Earl Ramey, 21-57.
 Massett, Stephen C., 28, 29, 35, 37, 46, 47, 50.
 Massey, Ernest de, quoted, 333-34.
 Mather, George, murdered, 39.
 Mathews, W. H., S. F. Tax Collector, 276.
 Matthews, Capt. Alexander, 164.
 Maurice, A., Jr., of Marysville, 33.
 Maynard, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Maynard, John C., 164, 272, 367.
 Meadows, James, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Means, A., of Know Nothing Party, 376.
 Medical history, 379, 380, 381; hospitals, 88, 169, 186, 276, 280.
 Meek, William B., 285.
Meetings of the Society, 89-93, 192-93, 286-87, 382-83.
 Meiggs, Henry, 177, 269, 271, 275.
 Meiggs, John G., 177, 182.
 Menendez, Salvador, 60.
 Mengis, Herr, singer, 166, 167, 175.
 Menzies, Archibald, quoted, 60.
 Merchant, F. G., of San Francisco, 167.
 Merchant's Exchange, S. F., opp. 163, 163, 270, 271, 275, 280.
 Merrill, I. M., 276, 277, 282.
 Merritt, Dr. Samuel, 164.
 Mesa, Juan Prado, 61.
 Mesick, R. S., of Marysville, 35.
 Meyer, Carl, 287, 332; quoted, 333.
 Meyer, Frederick, 302, 303.
 Micheltorena, Gov. Manuel, 228, 229-30, 285, 366.
 Middleton, John, of San Francisco, 175, 370.
 Middleton, John W., 19.
 Mighels, Harry, 381.
 Miles, Dr. S. M., opp. 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 33, 39, 44, 47, 53.
 Military companies: (in Marysville), California militia, 53; (in S. F.), Artillery companies, 164, 174; California Guards, 164, 168, 174, 178, 179, 182, 277, 370, 373, 375; City Guards, 164, 168, 171, 178, 181, 184, 373; Eureka Light Horse Guards, 174, 373; First Light Dragoons, 164, 366; Marion Rifles, 164, 174, 176, 373; National Lancers, 164, 168, 174, 364, 373; Pacific Guards, 171; S. F. Blues, 147, 174, 181, 184, 266, 267, 277, 373, 376; Wallace Guards, 375.
 Miller, Albert, 24, 56, 376.
 Miller, Joaquin, 284.
 Miller, W. P., 53.
 Miller, Gen. William, British consul, 181.
 Mills, John W., of N. Y. and Marysville, 30.
 Miners' Exchange & Savings Bank, Dr. A. S. Wright's, 272, 273, 274.
 Miner's Ranch, near Bidwell's Bar, 39.
 Mines and mining companies: Placer, 52; quartz, 53; on Kern R., 271, 273, 274, 275; in Idaho and Montana, 324-28; in Oregon, 171, 324, 374; yield in Calif., 1851-54, 268; life in the, opp. 295, 298-99, 380; Anglo California Gold Mining Co., 179; El Dorado Mining Co., 52; Empire, 290; Eureka Quartz Mining Co., 52; Linda Steam Dredging Co., 52; Maine Mining Co., 30; North Star, 290; Northern Yuba Quartz Mining Co., 52; Senator, 19; *see also* Quicksilver.
 Miranda, Alejo, 59.
 Missions: Dolores, 64, 364; San Antonio, 285; San Carlos, opp. 213, 213, 215, 217, 218; San Fernando, 115, 116; San Gabriel, 374, 376; San Luis Obispo, 235; San Miguel, 135, 235; San Pedro and San Pablo, 132; Santa Catalina Virgen y Martir, 106, 112, 132; Santa Clara, 60, 230, 231; Santa Cruz, 122, 227, 233, 235; Soledad, 114.
 Missroon, Lt. John S., 58, 64, 65, 68, 69, 306.
 Mitchell, Col. John, 21.
 Mitchell, T. S., and Co., Marysville, 54.
 Mitchler, Lt. N., 179.
 Modoc War, 286.
 Mokelumne Hill, fire at, 171, 267.
 Monk, Henry J. ("Hank"), 381.
 Monks, Richard B., Capt. of Police, 168, 180.
 Monnette, Orra Eugene, *In Memoriam*, 195.
 Monplaisir, M. and Mme., 174, 183.
 Monroe, Commissioner John A., 372.
 Montaynard Brothers, singers, 47.
 Monterey, 115, 116-17, 123-26, 130, 139, 140, 141, 187, 225, 226, 227, 241, 285; forces at, 1836, 343; Mexican flag raised at, 141-42; Presidio of, opp. 214; U. S. flag raised at, 58, 63, 243; **Four Early Sketches of Monterey Scenes**, explanation by H. R. Wagner, 213-15; **Surrender of Monterey by Gov. Nicolas Gutierrez**, Nov. 5, 1836, by George Tays, 338-63; **Visit to Monterey in 1786**, Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, 216-23.
 Montgomery, Capt. John B., 58, 63, 64, 65, 69, 306.

- Moore, Charles E., murdered, 34, 36, 56.
 Moore, J. B., 179, 182.
 Moraga, José Joaquin, 58.
 Moran, Thomas, artist, 286.
 Moreno, Fray Rafael, 213.
 Morgan, E. L., of San Francisco, 280.
 Mormon Battalion, 244, 245.
 Mormons, 201, 207, 244-46, 273, 282, 378.
 Morris, Albert Ferdinand, *Journal of a "Crazy Man,"* ed. by Charles L. Camp, 103-38, 224-41.
 Morrison, J. C., Jr., 50.
 Morton, Thomas H., of San Francisco, 180.
 Mott, Judge Gordon N., 28, 35.
 Mott, Dr. Valentine, Jr., 181.
 Moulder, Andrew Jackson, 179, 281.
 Mountain, Thomas, of San Francisco, 173.
 Mountaineers, musical troupe, 164.
 Muir, John, 190, 289, 379.
 Mulford, Samuel B., 21, 28, 49.
 Muñoz, Juan Antonio, 347, 348, 356, 358, 362; his report on forces at Monterey, 343.
 Murieta, Joaquin, 57, 277, 300.
 Murphy, John, 163.
 Murphy, Thomas R., 323; quoted, 317.
 Murray, Frank (Yankee Sullivan), 171.
 Murray, G. W., of San Francisco, 281.
 Murray, Judge Hugh C., 148, 204, 211, 377.
 Murray, John, of Marysville, 37.
 Murray, Thomas, 271.
 Music and Musical productions, 45-47, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 267, 274, 276, 278, 371, 375.
 Naglee, Henry M., 164, 273, 280.
 Nahl, Charles Christian, by Eugen Neuhäus, 295-305, 383; painting by, opp. 295.
 Nahl, Hugo Wilhelm Arthur, 296, 300, 301, 302, 305.
 Nahl, Perham Wilhelm, 296, 302-3.
 Nahl family, 295-96, 302, 303, 305; genealogy of, 304.
 Naile, Henry, 120, 122, 137.
 Napa, 189; alum found near, 235.
 Napa Springs, 72, 158.
 Narjot, Ernest, artist, 283.
 Nash, James, of Parks Bar, 29.
 Natchez, 39, 57.
 Natividad, 116, 122, 134, 233, 234, 241.
 Navarrete, Bernardo, 347, 352, 356, 358; letter of, 358-59.
 Navarro, José, 356.
 Navarro, Marcelo, 356.
 Neafe, A. J., 171, 186, 266.
 Neuhäus, Eugen, address by, 383; Charles Christian Nahl, 295-305.
 Nevada, State of, 188.
 Nevada City, fire at, 272.
 Neve, Felipe de, 219.
 New Almaden, town of, 3.
 New Almaden Company (Castillero claim), 4-15, *passim*, 19.
 New Almaden Mine, Abraham Lincoln and the, by Milton H. Shutes, 3-20; opp. 3.
 New Helvetia, 4, 379.
 New Members, 87, 162, 223, 388.
 Newspapers and magazines: *Alta California*, 9, 13, 15, 18, 32, 182, 208; *Argonaut*, 336-37, 379; *California Democrat*, 172, 282; *California Express*, 40, 56, 154; *California Magazine*, 301; *Californian*, 180; *Commercial Advertiser*, 175; *Daily California Chronicle*, 165; *Democratic State Journal*, 164; *Fireman's Journal*, 277; *Journal of Commerce*, 179; *Leader*, 174; *Masonic Record*, 166; *Pacific*, 41; *Pacific Police Gazette*, 165; *Placer Times*, 301; *Marysville Herald*, 23, 27, 31, 55, advertisements, in opp. 40; *Yuba Telegraph*, 29, 56; *Sacramento Statesman*, 273; *Sacramento Union*, 8, 202, 205, 206, 208; *S. F. Bulletin*, 12, 13, 15, 18; *S. F. Evening Gazette* (German), 175; *S. F. Globe*, 72; *S. F. Herald*, 32, 174; *S. F. Journal* (German), 272; *S. F. Town Talk*, 182; *Stockton Daily Argus*, 163; *Wide West*, 301.
 New York of the Pacific, 290.
 Nicaragua Accessory Transit Co., 168.
 Nichols, John, 269.
 Nightingill, A. W., 54, 57.
 Nightingill, G. R., 57.
 Nootka Sound, country claimed by Spain as far north as, 59.
 Noriega, José Antonio, 341, 354, 355.
 North, Hampton, 168, 269, 280, 281, 369, 371.
 Norton, E. F., of San Francisco, 179, 268.
 Norton, Judge Edward, 183, 184, 271, 273, 274, 372.
 Norton, Capt. Elihu, 170.
 Norton, Myron, 369.
 Nugent, John, 153, 205, 206.
 Nugent, John S., 178, 179, 269, 282.
 Nugent, Thomas, 29, 45.
 Nye, Michael C., 49.
 Oakland, 171, 172, 173, 174, 267, 380; fire at, 367; hanging at, 271.
 O'Brien, James, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Ocean Penny Post Co., 368.
 O'Connor, Charles, 6.
 O'Dwyer, W. W., 52, 56.
 Ogier, Judge Isaac S. K., 266.
 O'Grady, William H., Supt. of Schools, S. F., 169, 180.
 Older, Fremont, 379.
 Olds, B. S., of Marysville, 24.
 Olds, William B., 186, 270.
 Ord, Mrs. James L., 213.
 Oregon, 187, 190, 283, 284, 285, 377, 380; mines in, 171, 324, 374.
 Oregon Trail, 191, 284.
 Orme, Gen. William W., 16, 17, 19.
 Orphan Asylums in S. F., Protestant, 164, 175, 267, 271; Catholic, 174, 175.
 Orrum, Eilly, 381.
 Ousley's Bar, 51, 52.
 Owen, Rev. Isaac, 42.
 Pacheco, Juan Salvo, 190.

- Pacific Express Co., 273, 372.
 Packard, John Q., 38.
 Page, Daniel D., 366.
 Page, Gwynn, 273.
 Page, F. W., 281, 282.
 Page, Robert C., 370.
 Page, Bacon & Co., 272, 273, 275, 278, 280, 281, 364, 365, 370, 371, 372, 374, 377.
 Palmer, Hiram, 42.
 Palmer, J. C. (?), 157.
 Palmer, Cook & Co., 266, 272, 366.
 Panama-Pacific Exposition, 290.
 Pardee, Colonel, of San Francisco, 365.
 Park, T. W., of San Francisco, 274, 371, 372.
 Parker, W. C., 376.
 Parks, John C., 21, 29, 43, 44.
 Parks Bar, Democratic convention at, 29.
 Parrott, John, 10, 20, 280, 282.
 Passing of Spanish California, September 29, 1822, by George Tays, 139-42.
 Patterson, C., 376.
 Patterson, Capt. C. P., 269.
 Patti, Miss P., singer, 181.
 Pattie, James O., 109, opp. 110, 133.
 Pattinos (or Pettinos), pianist, 46.
 Payeras, Fr. Mariano, 141.
 Payne, Theodore, & Company, 163.
 Payran, Stephen, 39.
 Peachy, A. C., 6, 376.
 Pearce, Joseph, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Pease, Capt. W. C., of *Jefferson Davis*, 168.
 Peck, A. S., of San Francisco, 280.
 Peck, E. S., of Marysville, 23.
 Peckham, E. P., of San Francisco, 280, 364.
 Peden, Gen. James A., of Marysville, 53.
 Peel, son of Sir Robert, 235.
 Peeler, Jim, "The Southern walker," 267.
 Peirson (or Pierson), O. H., 50.
 Pellet, Miss Sarah, 175, 176.
 Peña, Cosme, 339.
 Peña, Corp. Joaquin, 61.
 Peralta, Luis, will of, mentioned, 278
 Perez, José Fernandez, 60.
 Perez, Juan, 122, 137.
 Perkins, Capt. of *Jerry Bryant*, 369, 370.
 Perkins, A. M., of San Francisco, 171.
 Perkins, Asa B., 370.
 Perry, Elijah, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Perry, John, Jr., 164, 179, 272.
 Personalia and Marginalia, 99-100, 196, 387-88.
 Peters, Harry T., book by, noted, 99, 188.
 Petit-Thouars, Capt. Abel du, 213.
 Pettit, A. P., S. F. architect, 181.
 Peyton, Bailie, 73, 146, 280, 281; letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 72-73.
 Phelps, T. J., 205, 206.
 Phelps, Capt. William D., 58, 62, 63, 68, 69, 226, 236.
 Pickett, Charles E., of San Francisco, 365.
 Phillips, pedestrian, 268, 269.
 Phillips, Catherine Coffin (Mrs. Lee A.), book by, noted, 99-100.
 Phillips, Lt. John G., 76, 83, 84, 85, 148.
 Pico, Antonio María, 4, 19.
 Pico, Pio and Andrés, 285.
 Pierce, Pres. Franklin, 203, 251; Johnson's appeal to, in re 1856 Vig. Com., 80-83, 249-50.
 Pierce, Parker H., of Marysville, 28.
 Pierce, R. R., of San Francisco, 280.
 Pierce, Dr. W. S., 21, 28, 29.
 Pierce, Winslow S., State Comptroller, 182.
 Pierson, George, of Yuba City, 52.
 Pierson, Rev. Hiram (?), 186.
 Pinto, Rafael, 127, 128.
 Piper, William A., S. F. alderman, 367.
 Pixley, Frank M., 280, 335.
 Pixley, M., of Marysville, 29.
 Place names, 89, 189, 380.
 Playter, E. W., 376.
 Plumas County, "law and order" favored by, 153.
 Point Arguello, wreck at, 178.
 Polack, Joel S., 280.
 Politics, 5, 16, 173, 199-200, 202-10, 276; in Marysville, 23-24, 27-30, 33, 273; in S. F., 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 181, 182, 186, 279, 280, 281, 282, 371; State, 166, 167, 168, 368, 376, 377.
 Pollard, A., 376.
 Pollock, Lewis, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Pony Express, 190, 196, 285.
 Poole, Charles H., 376.
 Poole, William, murder of, 366.
 Pope, William, 109, 133.
 Portolá, Gaspar de, 187.
 Port Orford, 171.
 Porter, Dr., Oakland pound keeper, 173.
 Portilla, Capt. Pablo de la, 339, 341, 346, 347, 348.
 Portolá, Gaspar de, 329.
 Post, Gabriel B., 164, 370.
 Postal service, 99, 165, 170, 181, 277, 328, 368; *see also* Express Companies, Pony Express, and Stages.
 Potter, George C., of San Francisco, 281.
 Potter, J. N., of San Francisco, 181.
 Poulterer, T. J., 279.
 Powell, C. F., of Stockton, 369.
 Pratt, Parley P., Mormon elder, 282.
 Price, C., of Marysville, 46.
 Price, John, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Prince, Major, 367, 369.
 Pryor, Gabriel, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Purdy, Lt. Gov. Samuel, 272, 282, 369, 370.
 Purisima Creek, 329-30.
 Quadra, *see* Bodega y Quadra.
 Quicksilver mines, 8-20, 190, 235-36, 268.
 Quicksilver Mining Company of Pennsylvania and New York (Fossatt claim), 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19.
 Quinn, Miss Anna, 169, 170.
 Rafisch, M., of Marysville, 29.
 Railroads and Railways: Transcontinental, 54, 164, 190, 202, 266; Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Co., 269; Central Pacific, 98; Market St., S. F., 167, 168, 175; Pacific

- Railroad bill, 203-4, 206, 208, 209, 210;
Sacramento Valley Railroad, 367, 376;
Southern Pacific, 190, 380.
- Ralston, William Chapman, 191, 378.
- Ramey, Earl, **The Beginnings of Marysville**, 21-57.
- Ramirez, Angel, 339, 340.
- Ramirez, José Manuel, 22, 29, 43, 45.
- Ramirez, José María, 347, 348, 356.
- Rand, Charles E., 85, 258.
- Rand, U. S. Marshal Charles W., 7, 9.
- Randall, Capt. of *Yankee Blade*, 178, 271.
- Randall, Dr. Andrew, 158, 159.
- Randolph, Edmund, 373, 375.
- Rankin, Ira P., of San Francisco, 282.
- Rankin, Robert, 280, 364, 372.
- Ransom, L. W., 24, 28, 31.
- Rassette, Joseph, of San Francisco, 368.
- Raousset-Boulbon, Count Gaston de, 174, 175, 176, 180.
- Real, Padre Antonio Suarez del, 227.
- Real, Padre José María Suarez del, 4.
- Real del Castillo, 105, 132.
- Red River, *see* Colorado River.
- Reed, H., S. F. banker, 273.
- Reese, J. Martin, 147.
- Reid, J. S., of San Francisco, 366.
- Reports: Secretary and Treasurer, 90-92;
Publication Committee, 93.
- Republican party, 5, 205, 206, 207.
- Revere, Joseph Warren, 190.
- Reynolds, Edward, 376.
- Rice, Dr. D. W. C., 21, 23, 24, 28, 43, 56.
- Rich, Charles Coulson, 378.
- Richardson, William A., 330, 370.
- Richardson, William H., 204.
- Riddle, Spear, 270.
- Ridge, John R., 76.
- Riestra, Jesus, 356.
- Riggers' and Stevedores' Union Association, 168, 173, 174.
- Risley, "Professor," actor, 367.
- Ritchie, A. A., 275, 282.
- Rivera y Moncada, Capt., 132.
- Road, wagon, from Sacramento to boundary, 277.
- Roberts, Dave, 171.
- Robinson, Dr. David G., 44, 45, 47, 48.
- Robinson, J. R., 274.
- Robinson, William Heppel, 31.
- Robinson & Co., bankers, 272, 273, 274.
- Robles, Secundino and Teodoro, 4.
- Rodgers, Robert C., attorney, 376.
- Rodriguez, Antonio, 356.
- Rojas, Lauro A. de, address by, 382.
- Rollins, Philip Ashton, book ed. by, rev., 191.
- Rollinson, Rev. William, 179, 186.
- Roman, Major, former consul, 268.
- Romero, José Mariano, 347, 348, 356.
- Roncovieri, Mr., singer, 174, 178.
- Rose, John, of Marysville, opp. 21, 29.
- Rosentiel, Antoine, 276.
- Ross, C. L., of San Francisco, 364, 365.
- Ross, William, 376.
- Ross, Wm. G., of San Francisco, 281.
- Rothchild, Baron, at New Almaden Mine, 3.
- Rousset Sisters, actresses, 279.
- Rowe, E. A., corres. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 78-79, 153.
- Rowe, George, 28, 29, 33.
- Rowell, Capt. J., of San Francisco, 366.
- Rueger, John, of Marysville, 46.
- Russ Gardens, S. F., 171, 172, 278, 369, 371.
- Russell, Charles M., 284.
- Russians, 180, 184, 185, 190.
- Russum, F. B., 277.
- Rust, P. C. (R. C. ?), of Marysville, 24.
- Rust, Col. Richard C., 56.
- Ryan, Lawrence, S. F. Police officer, 186.
- Ryan, William Redmond, quoted, 331.
- Ryder, G. W., 280.
- Ryland, C. F., of Santa Clara, 370.
- Sacramento, 77, 166, 167, 168, 171, 189, 190, 276; fires at, 166, 173, 279, 297; petition in re Vigilance Com., 75-76.
- Sacramento Valley, 226, 234.
- St. Clair, Mary, necromancer, 180.
- St. Louis, fire at, 171.
- Sal, Hermenegildo, 59, 60.
- Salt, Charles, 160.
- Sampson, W. H., of Marysville, 29.
- San Agustin, 224, 233.
- San Blas, 128-29, 131, 140, 225, 238.
- San Diego, 109, 128, 187, 237, 375-76.
- San Francisco: Boundary of, 176, 183; charter, 278; consolidation of city and county, 278; **Continuation of the Annals of**, 88, 163-86, 266-82, 364-77; finances, 163, 170, 173, 177, 178, 180, 182, 186, 270, 272, 274, 275, 278, 371, 373; House of Refuge, 169, 269; Police dept., 88, 163, 165, 180, 185, 268; Portsmouth Plaza, 64, 170, 177, 182, 184, 185; Presidio of, 8, opp. 58, 58-69, *passim*, 196, 306, 308; real estate, 169, 171, 176, 179, 180, 183, 186, 266, 270, 272, 276, 279, 282, 367, 368, 369, 370; streets, paving and grading of, 88, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 175, 176, 182, 185, 272, 273, 275; wharves, 168, 170, 175, 176, 180, 184, 272, 273, 275, 277, 282; *see also* Fire companies, Vigilance Committee, etc.
- San Francisco's Ancient Cannon**, by Douglas S. Watson, 58-69.
- San Francisco's Cisterns**, by Charles R. Boden, 311-23.
- San Jose, 224, 228, 236, 269, 341.
- San Leandro, fire at, 272.
- San Marcos Pass, 285.
- San Mateo County, 379.
- San Pasqual, Battle of, 286.
- San Quentin, State Prison at, 77, 83, 165, 167, 175, 177, 180, 268.
- Sanchez, Francisco, 64, 69.
- Sanchez, Narciso, 356.
- Sanders, J. Hubert, 274, 277, 280, 371.
- Sanders & Brenham, 272.
- Sandwich Islands, 174, 181, 269, 271.

- Sangre de Christo River, 106, 113.
 Santa Anna, Pres. of Mexico, 269.
 Santa Barbara, 123, 155, 187, 238, 255-56, 376, 381; revolt at, 116; *see also* Missions.
 Santa Cruz, 125, 189, 224, 227, 235; *see also* Missions.
 Santos, Antonio, 60.
 Sargeant, Mr., of Marysville, 29.
 Sartwell, Mr., of Marysville, 29.
 Satterlee, Judge John, 186, 269.
 Sausalito, 62, 63, 181; Water Co., 170.
 Saxton, Rev. J. B., 164.
 Scannell, David, 252, 253, 314; *opp.* 316, 322.
 Schaeffer, John B., Harbor Master, 281.
 Schell, Commissioner, 269, 270, 271.
 Schools and teachers: 268, 378; Hartnell's at Alisal, 286-87; in Marysville, 53; Placer-ville Academy, 190; in S. F., public, 88, 164, 169, 173, 174, 176, 180, 182, 183, 267, 268, 275, 384; Powell Street Academy, 267; Roman Catholic, 172; *art.* 302, 303.
 Scola, Carlo, singer, 183.
 Scott, Rev. W. A., 164, 167, 267, 270, 365, 376.
 Seabury, Capt., of *Brother Jonathan*, 178.
 Seguin, Brandt, 166.
 Selover, A. A., 157, 180.
 Selover & Sinton, 171, 173.
 Semple, Dr. Robert, 180.
 Serra, Padre Junípero, 329.
 Settlers' League of California, 365, 366, 368, 372, 377.
 Shaeffer, F. W., 24, 28.
 Shaler, William, 188.
 Sharon, William, 381.
 Shattuck, Judge D. O., 274, 370.
 Shattuck, Judge F., 271.
 Shaughnessy, Patrick H., Chief Engineer, S. F. Fire Dept., 315, 322; *quoted*, 318.
 Shea, William, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
 Sheldon, Dr. B. A., of San Francisco, 179.
 Sheppard, William B., 165; hanged, 168.
 Sherman, Charles W., of Marysville, 29.
 Sherman, Gen. William T., 73, 82, 179, 182, 264, 280, 290, 370; *corres. in re* 1856 Vig. Com., 260-61, 262.
 Sherwood, Walter, forger, 172.
 Sherwood, William K., of Marysville, 33.
 Shew, Jacob, 370.
 Shipwrecks: *Golden Age*, 279; *Golden Fleece*, 180; *Major Tompkins*, 274; *Napa*, 178; *New World*, 266; *Pearl*, 271; *Southerner*, 270; *Yankee Blade*, 179.
 Shondon, James, of Marysville, 29.
 Short, Father Patrick, 286.
 Show, W. L., of San Francisco, 368.
 Shutes, Milton H., 100; *Abraham Lincoln and the New Almaden Mine*, 3-20.
 Sickels, Gen. Daniel E., 17.
 Silver Bow (Butte), Montana, 324, 326, 327.
 Sime, John, 164.
 Simmerley, Samuel, 29, 54.
 Simonson, Mr., violinist, 46.
 Sinclair, Mrs. Catharine N., 163, 174, 177, 181, 185, 268, 278.
 Slavery question, 205, 207, 209, 277.
 Sloat, Commodore John D., 58, 63, 64, 65, 237, 243, 306.
 Slocumb, R. W., 281, 364, 370, 372.
 Sloss, Louis B., 76.
 Slover, Isaac, 109, *opp.* 110, 133.
 Smiley, Yerkes & Co., of S. F., 269.
 Smith, George Dillon, 163.
 Smith, J. Connor, 164.
 Smith, James, of Marysville, 29.
 Smith, Jedediah, 379.
 Smith, John G., 23, 24, 29, 49.
 Smith, Joseph, 245.
 Smith, N. B., of Contra Costa Co., 370.
 Smith, N. P., of San Francisco, 179.
 Smith, W. C. S., 24, 28.
 Smith, W. H., suicide of, 176.
 Smith, W. Willson, 21, 28.
 Smith's Pomological Gardens, Sacramento, 173.
 Snow, H. A., 88.
 Sons: Association for the Protection of Property, 163; Cadets and Sons of Temperance, 180; City Tract Society, 183; German Benevolent Society, 166, 176, 371; Germania Society, 271; Masons, 166, 172, 373; Mechanics' Institute, 273; New England Society, 267; Philharmonic Society, 164, 166; S. F. Bible Society, 185; S. F. Jockey Club, 278; S. F. Press Club, 182; Sängerbund, 164, 166; Society of California Pioneers, 166, 174, 301, 370, 373; Society of California Volunteers, 301; Turn Gesangverein, 166; Turnverein Society, 171, 268; Y. M. C. A., 376.
 Sola, Gov. Vicente, 141, 142.
 Sonoma, 61, 62, 230, 242-43; Spanish guns at, 62, 64, 65, 69.
 Sonoma County, 161.
 Sonora, Adams & Co. at, 273.
 Sonorian Camp, Yuba Co., 39.
 Soulé, Minister to Spain, 266, 267.
 Soulé, Frank, 165, 174, 186, 272.
 Spalding, Henry Harmon, 283, 285.
 Spanish California, article on passing of, by George Tays, 139-42; polity of, 308-10.
 Spanish Californians, character of, 109, 118, 231-34, 237-38.
 Speer, Rev. William, 163.
 Spence, David, 123, 234.
 Squatters, 163, 165, 179, 181, 190.
 Stages, 284, 380, 381; A. J. Oliver's Mail and Stage Line, 328; Butterfield Overland Mail, 99, 189, 190; Oakland-Stockton, 166; Overland Mail and Express Co., 328.
 Stambaugh, S. C., of Marysville, 24.
 Stanford, Leland, 76, 98.
 Stanford University, 98.
 Stanley, Reva Holdaway, *First Utah Coins Minted from California Gold*, 244-46.
 Stanton, Edwin M., 5-6, 15, 19.

- Stark, Benjamin, of Oregon, 208.
 Stark, Mr. and Mrs. James, 48, 166, 168, 266, 278.
 State Capital, 267, 268, 269.
 State Debts, 173, 267, 272.
 State Prison, *see* San Quentin.
 Stevens, William H., 270, 371.
 Stevenson, Col. J. D., 290.
 Stevenson's Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers, 276, 331.
 Stidger, Judge O. P., 34.
 Stockdale, Capt. James, 182.
 Stockton, 189, 277, 290, 383; fire at, 272.
 Stodder, George G. S., 281.
 Stone, Gen. Charles P., 207.
 Stone, E. W., of Mud Springs, 377.
 Story, W. F., S. F. alderman, 367.
 Stout, Dr. Arthur B., 179, 370.
 Stover, David B., of San Francisco, 370.
 Stow, William W., of Santa Cruz, 269.
 Strakosch, Maurice, pianist, 165, 167, 169.
 Strassburger, Isaac, 384.
 Strassburger, Lawrence, **In Memoriam**, 384-85.
 Strikes, of hod carriers at Sacramento, 168; of sailors in S. F., 273.
 Stuart, Jim, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 Stuart, Robert, 191.
 Studebaker, John, 380, 381.
 Sullivan, Chief Dennis T., 315, opp. 316, 322.
 Sullivan, Yankee (Frank Murray), 171.
 Sulphur deposits near Russian R., 235.
 Sunday laws, 25, 280, 368.
 Suñol, Antonio, 18.
 Suría, Tomás de, 214, 215, 380.
Surrender of Monterey by Governor Nicolas Gutierrez, by George Tays, 338-63.
 Sutherland, Judge, of San Francisco, 366.
 Sutro, Adolph, 381.
 Sutter, John A., 4, 173, 179, 187, 190, 226-27, 228, 229, 230, 236, 237, 244, 279, 280, 369, 370, 379.
 Sutter's Fort, 226, 230, 237.
 Sutter's mill, 96, 190, 298.
 Sutton, O. P., of San Francisco, 370.
 Swayne, Judge, of Supreme Court, 8, 13.
 Sweetzer, Hutchings & Co., 172.
 Swett, James, 174, 180, 267.
 Swett, Leonard, 7-20, *passim*.
 Swezy, Gabriel N., 21, 23, 29, 33, 53.
 Taaffe, G. O'Hara, 53, 57.
 Tabor, John, of S. F. *Evening News*, 376.
 Tabor, John, of Stockton, 270, 274.
 Tail, George, 376.
 Tallant & Wilde, bankers, 272.
 Tallman, B., 23, 24.
 Taylor, Alexander S., 377.
 Taylor, Bayard, 331; quoted, 332.
 Taylor, Col. Levi W., 29, 52.
 Taylor, Robert H., 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 34, 37, 38, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53.
 Taylor, Rev. William, 165; quoted, 335.
 Tays, George, 196, **The Passing of Spanish California, September 29, 1822**, 139-42; **California Never Was an Independent Republic**, 242-43; **Surrender of Monterey by Gov. Nicolas Gutierrez**, 338-63.
 Teal, Lewis, of San Francisco, 175.
 Tehama County, 161.
 Telegraph, first across Sierra, 95; Pacific Telegraph Bill, 170; Stockton-Jamestown-Columbia, 272.
 Telegraph Hill, San Francisco, 62, 370.
 Temperance movement, 45, 367, 377.
 Tendiso, Jesus, 356.
 Tepic, Mexico, 130, 225, 234, 238, 239, 241.
 Terry, Judge David S., 70, 73, 77, 85, 86, 146-61, *passim*, 247, 248, 377, 382-83; *corres.* in re 1856 Vig. Com., 70, 78-79, 259; stabbing of Hopkins, opp. 143.
 Tewksbury, J. M., 280, 364.
 Theaters and concert halls: In Marysville, 47-48; in San Francisco, American, 163, 164, 165, 167, 181, 186, 266, 270, 271; Metropolitan, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 266, 267, 268, 271, 272, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281, 366, 367, 371, 375; Musical Hall, 163, 164, 166, 169, 170, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 266, 276, 366, 368, 374; People's, 173, 181, 183; San Francisco Hall, 166, 273; Union, 165, 169.
 Theatrical productions: In Marysville, 47-48; in Placerville, 380; in San Francisco, 163-88, *passim*, 266, 268, 270, 271, 278, 279, 281, 366, 375.
 Thierry, Mme., singer, 174, 179.
 Thillon, Madame Anna, 88.
 Thomas, Daniel J., Democratic candidate, 377.
 Thomas, Thomas, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Thompson, Capt. Alpheus B., 121.
 Thompson, D. W., of San Francisco, 281.
 Thompson, J. A. ("Snowshoe"), 190.
 Thompson, J. F., of Marysville, 29.
 Thompson, Judge R. Augustus, 80, 83, 169; documents in re 1856 Vig. Com., 79, 249-51.
 Thompson, William Neely & Co., 177, 271.
 Thorn, Madame, *see* Barili Thorn, Clotilde.
 Thorne, Charles R., 164, 165.
 Tilden, W. P., 376.
 Tilton, Cecil G., book by, rev., 191.
 Tingley, George B., 202, 211.
 Tobin, R. J., 281, 364.
 Tolles Dry Diggings, 52.
 Tompkins, Col. S. C., 24, 29, 53.
 Torre, Joaquin de la, 62, 127, 129, 138, 230, 231.
 Torrence, John, 177.
 Torres, Joaquin, *see* Torre, Joaquin de la.
 Tozer, Miss Mary, 164.
 Tracy, Felix, 368.
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 243, 306.
 Trees, redwood, 188, 224, 235, 236.
 Trinity County, 195.
 Trivett, Capt. Theodore, 317.

- Truett, J., of San Francisco, 182.
 Tryon, Joseph, 51.
 Tucker, J. W., 181.
 Tuolumne City, 290.
 Tuolumne County, attitude toward Vig. Com., 155.
 Turk, Frank, 180.
 Turner, Col. David S., 163, 180, 181, 280, 374.
 Turner, George, Chief Justice of Nevada, 10.
 Turner, Jim, 178.
 Turner, Judge William R., 28, 30.
 Twain, Mark, *see* Clemens, Samuel L.
 Tyrolese Singers, 47.
 Ueber, Charles, of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Union party, 205.
 U. S. Mint, Branch at S. F., 173, 182, 246, 273, 277, 384.
Utah Coins Minted from California Gold, The First, by Reva H. Stanley, 244-46.
 Valdés, Cayetano, 214, 215.
 Valle, Antonio del, 356.
 Valleau, T. B., of San Francisco, 179.
 Valle, Ygnacio del, 341, 347, 348.
 Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe, 61, 141, 176, 183, 196, 230, 280, 340, 355; letter from Alvarado to, 341-42.
 Vallejo, city of, 280.
 Van Bokkelen, Alderman J. L., 276, 281.
 Vancouver, Capt. George, 59.
 Vancy, or Vancij, Duché de, 213, 215.
 Vandewater, John, of San Francisco, 281, 364.
 Van Guelpen, Mme., singer, 175.
 Van Ness, Mayor James, 281, 282, 369, 370.
 Van Ness Ordinance, 367.
 Van Sandt, Dr. J. W., 164.
 Van Vleck, Fred B., 375.
 Van Winkle, P. W., 179, 376.
 Vassault, Ferdinand, 167, 177, 181.
 Vaughn, Henry, 269.
 Venegas, Miguel, 190.
 Vermillion, John, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
 Vessels: *Active*, 177; *Alceste*, 373; *Alert*, 226; *America*, 166, 177, 273, 367, 369; *American*, 269, 275; *Amphitrite*, 171, 173, 182; *Angeles*, 359, 360, 361; *Antelope*, 179, 273; *Aranzazu*, 60, 68; *Archibald Gracie*, 364; *Arctic*, 183; *Astrolabe*, 213, 215, 216; *Atrevida*, 214; *Audubon*, 377; *Beaver*, 380; *Bolina*, 225; *Boussole*, 213, 216; *Bragdon*, 266, 367; *Brooklyn*, 244; *Brother Jonathan*, 164, 169, 172, 178; *California*, 166; *Carolina*, 179; *Caroline*, 347, 351; *Charmer*, 279; *Chatham*, 60; *Clementine*, 341, 347, 350, 353, 358; *Coeur de Lion*, 375; *Columbia*, 368, 374, 377; *Coronation*, 182; *Correo Mercado*, 359, 360; *Cortes*, 88, 164, 166, 170, 171, 181, 182, 266, 271, 275, 364; *Dancing Feather*, 185; *Dashing Wave*, 367; *Decatur*, 376; *Descubierta*, 214; *Discovery*, 59, 60; *Don Quixote*, 347, 349; *Eclipse*, 183, 278; *Ellen Foster*, 375; *Elvira Harbeck*, 277, 280; *Emilie*, 371; *Enterprise*, 168, 175; *Europa*, 347; *Eurydice*, 176, 183, 374; *Exchange*, 170, 171, 172, 175; *Flying Cloud*, 278, 364, 367; *Fremont*, 164; *Golden Age*, 178, 267, 272, 275, 279, 375; *Golden Fleece*, 180; *Golden Gate* (pilot boat), 280; *Golden Gate* (S.S.), 164, 165, 168, 183, 273, 277, 278, 281, 366, 375; *Golden West*, 177; *Goliath*, 178, 270, 271; *Governor Dana*, 43; *Grape Shot*, 366; *Guadaloupe*, 173; *Helen Hensley*, 161; *Helvetian*, 375; *Herald of the Morning*, 279; *Hornet*, 364; *Isabel*, 236; *Jefferson Davis*, 167, 271; *Jerry Bryant*, 369, 370; *John Adams*, 161; *John L. Stephens*, 88, 165, 173, 181, 186, 274, 279, 282; *John N. Gossler*, 171; *John Stuart*, 177; *Joven Guipuzcoana*, 126, 238; *Julia*, 85; *L'Artemise*, 171, 173; *La Favorita*, 216; *La Forte*, 176, 179, 180, 373; *La Moselle*, 269; *La Princesa*, 216; *Leonidas*, 356; *Leonor*, 351; *Libertad*, 167, 168, 169, 170, 175; *Linda*, 52; *Look Out*, 375; *Lord Dufferin*, 164; *Lot Whitcomb*, 171; *Louisa Jacoba Johanna*, 172; *Louisiana*, 372; *M. A. Jones*, 169; *Major Tompkins*, 274; *Martin White*, 278; *Massachusetts*, 373; *Meda*, 282; *Metropolitan*, 282; *Mexicana*, 215; *Mischief*, 278; *Mississippi*, 184; *Monarch*, 374, 376; *Monsoon*, 375; *Moscow*, 58, 62; *Napa*, 178; *Nazarene*, 370; *Neptune's Car*, 277; *New Era*, 267; *New World*, 184, 266, 274, 279; *Nicholas*, 236; *Obligado*, 176, 372; *Oregon*, 171, 272, 290; *Pacific*, 165, 168, 173, 282, 375; *Panama*, 171; *Panther*, 140; *Pearl*, 271; *Peytona*, 171; *Phoenix*, 51, 52, 366; *Pike County*, 167; *Pilgrim*, 269; *Pique*, 181, 269; *Plover*, 181; *Polk*, 269; *Portsmouth*, 58, 62, 63, 65, 306; *Potomac*, 170; *President*, 181, 374; *Queen City*, 175, 182, 184, 266, 279; *Queen of the Seas*, 375; *R. Adams*, 276; *Rattlesnake*, 175; *Republic*, 282; *Restless*, 163; *Roman*, 183; *St. Louis*, 130, 131, 225, 229; *San Carlos*, 140, 141; *San Francisco*, 168, 190; *San Joaquin*, 51; *Savannah*, 63; *Sea Bird*, 281, 371, 374, 375; *Secretary*, 88, 183, 273; *Senator*, 279; *Sierra Nevada*, 88, 158, 165, 166, 170, 180, 184, 266, 271, 277, 280, 371, 372, 374; *Sitka*, 180, 184, 185; *Sonora*, 164, 166, 169, 176, 182, 186, 269, 270, 273, 278, 279; *Sophie*, 272; *Southerner*, 268, 270; *Staghound*, 172; *Starr King*, 172; *Sunny South*, 279; *Surprise*, 267, 278, 377; *Susan Abigail*, 271; *Susquehanna*, 183, 185; *Sutil*, 215; *Sword Fish*, 373; *Telegraph*, 278; *Thomas Hunt*, 365; *Tonguin*, 191; *Uncle Sam*, 165, 168, 173, 178, 184, 267, 269, 273, 279, 365, 371, 377; *Union*, 51; *Vesta*, 278; *Virago*, 181; *W. A. Tarlton*, 279; *W. L. Marcy*, 172, 185; *War Hawk*, 375; *Water Witch*, 371; *Wilson G. Hunt*, 277; *Witchcraft*, 172; *Yankee*, 158, 280; *Yankee Blade*, 88, 165, 169, 173, 176, 178, 179, 185, 269, 270, 271; *Zenobia*, 184; arrivals during

- 1853-54, 268; ferries on S. F. Bay, 381; Manila galleons, 382; yacht regatta, 369.
- Videau, Henry, of Marysville, 49.
- Vigilance Committee, Marysville, 1851, 30-41, 56; San Francisco, 1851, 36, 38, 39; S. F., 1856, 143, 205, 211, 301, 378; **Law and Order View of . . . 1856**, Herbert G. Florcken, 70-87, 143-62, 247-65.
- Virginia City, Montana, 324, 326, 328.
- Virginia City, Nevada, 381.
- Vischer, Edward, 164, 370.
- Voorhies, Mrs. Margaret Sinclair, 163.
- Vosbrough, A. S., of San Francisco, 280.
- Wagner, Henry R., 94, 194, 287, 380, 386; address by, 286-87; explanation of **Four Early Sketches of Monterey Scenes**, 213-15.
- Wainwright, Randall & Co., of S. F., 183, 368.
- Wakeman, Capt. Edgar, 267.
- Walker, Robert J., 4, 15, 19.
- Walker, William, 88, 163, 164, 178, 179, 278, 370, 377.
- Wallace, William T., Attorney-General, 257.
- Waller, H. B., of San Francisco, 176.
- Waller, Judge R. H., 176.
- Walton, Col. J. W., of San Francisco, 371.
- Ward, George, 255.
- Warfield, Dr. J. B., 29.
- Warner, Col., of Marion Rifles, 177.
- Warner, John, 239.
- Warren, Capt., of *Roman*, 183.
- Washburne, Rev. Mr., 41.
- Washington, B. F., 280, 369.
- Watkins, C. E., 190.
- Watkins, H. P., of Oakland, 281.
- Watkins, Henry P., of Marysville, 28, 51.
- Watmough, Purser James T. H., 64.
- Watson, Douglas S., address by, 90; **San Francisco's Ancient Cannon**, 58-69; **Report of Publication Committee**, 93; **An Inquiry into the Significance of the Raising of the American Flag at Yerba Buena, July 9, 1846**, 306-10.
- Watson, Job H., 51.
- Watts, Dr. S. T., 28, 45, 53.
- Webb, Mayor S. P., 176, 178, 180, 182, 266, 272, 280.
- Weber, Charles M., 277, 290.
- Weller, Charles L., 165, 170.
- Weller, Senator John B., 180, 182, 205, 280.
- Welles, Gideon, Sec'y of Navy, 5, 10, 19.
- Wells, Judge Alexander, 181, 182.
- Wells, Henry J., 169, 364, 370.
- Wells Fargo & Co., 76, 99, 189, 192, 196, 271, 272, 273, 328, 376.
- Wendell, George H., 371, 372, 374.
- Wenderoth, A., 297, 305.
- West, Col. J. R., 147, 148, 164; corres. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 149-50, 256.
- West, Joseph B., S. F. Police officer, 282.
- Western History**, check list, 187-90, 283-86, 378-81.
- Westlake, Richard, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
- Whaling, J. W., of San Francisco, 366.
- Wheat, Col. C. R., 169.
- Wheeler, Judge Edward D., 29, 33, 43.
- Wheeler, William, the pedestrian, 183, 185.
- Whig party, 27-30, 33, 168, 170, 181, 202.
- White, A. M. (or J. M.), of San Francisco, 281, 364.
- White, Laura R., 99; **Meetings of the Society**, 89-90, 192-93, 286-87, 382-83.
- White, Milton, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
- Whitehouse, Joseph, prisoner at Tepic, 239.
- Whiting, Lt. W. H. C., 179.
- Whitman, G. W., corres. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 78-79.
- Whitman, Dr. Marcus, 285, 380.
- Whitman, S. P., of San Francisco, 281.
- Whitney, Franklin E. R., 88; opp. 316, 322; report, 314.
- Whitney, George O., of San Francisco, 172.
- Whitton, Abel, 376.
- Wilbur, J. Q., of Marysville, 53.
- Wilde, Jonathan, 276, 277, 279, 281, 365.
- Wilder, Dr. A. H., of Marysville, 43.
- Wildred, Robert, 34.
- Willey, Rev. S. H., 185.
- Williams, Albert, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
- Williams, Rev. Albert, 174.
- Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Barney, 175.
- Williams, Charles, prisoner at Tepic, 240.
- Williams, H. F., of San Francisco, 281.
- Willis, E. J., of Sacramento, 164, 186.
- Willow Springs, 285.
- Wilson, Charles, of San Francisco, 281, 364.
- Wilson, General John A., 367.
- Wilson, Rev. Joshua, 41, 42, 45.
- Wilson, Neill C., book by, noted, 99; address by, 192.
- Wiltsee, Ernest A., 96, 194, 291; **"The Emigrant's Dream,"** 324-28; book by, rev., 191.
- Winrow, J., 171.
- Winslow, Dr. J. F., 177.
- Winston, Judge, of Plumas Co., 153.
- Winter, Col. J. D., of Marysville, 29.
- Winter, Dr. J. W., of Marysville, 43.
- Winther, Oscar Osburn, book by, noted, 196.
- Wistar, Isaac I., 76; corres. in re 1856 Vig. Com., 83-84, 84-85.
- Wohler, Herman, 172.
- Wolfskill expedition, 189.
- Wood, W. G., of San Francisco, 368.
- Woodlief, Col. D. J., death of, 182.
- Woodruff, Edwards, 21, 24, 28.
- Woodworth, F. A., of San Francisco, 164, 270.
- Woods, I. C., 177, 269, 277, 368, 371, 372, 377.
- Woods, Rev. James, 168.
- Woodside, Preston K., 167.
- Wool, Gen. John E., 70, 71, 75, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 158, 173, 180, 181, 272, 282, 367, 369, 373.
- Worthington, Dr. Robert, of Oakland, 281.

- Wozencraft, Dr. O. M., 267.
Wright, Dr. A. S., 273, 274.
Wright, Brig. Gen. George, 9, 10, 11.
Wright, William (Dan de Quille), 381.
Wyandotte diggings, 52.
Wyatt, Rev. C. B., 373.
Yanson, Capt., killed on Gila R., 374.
Yerba Buena (San Francisco), 59, 309; U.
S. flag raised at, 1846, 63-64, 306-10.
Yerba Buena Island, 280.
Yosemite, 190, 286, 379.
Young, Brigham, 244, 245.
Yount, George C., 370.
Yuba City, 41; Methodist Church in, 42.
Yuba River, 22, 50-51, 190; proposed bridge
over, 53.
Zabriskie, C. B., 152.
Zabriskie, Col. James C., 151-52, 153, 157;
letter in re 1856 Vig. Com., 154.
Zamora, Manuel, 356.
Zamorano, Agustin V., 341, 347, 348.
Zander, L. T., 164.
Zayante, 121, 227, 233, 235.

GTU Library



3 2400 00268 0415

21820

v.15
1936

THREE DAY

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
BERKELEY, CA 94709

